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BEGINNING with the issue of next week, the publication date of The Nation will be changed from Thursday to Saturday. Subscribers will, however, receive their copies on the same day of the week as heretofore.

The Week

WE trust that all the readers of the *Nation* will make it a point to peruse the text of Prince Lichnowsky's statement upon the causes of the war printed by the *Times* and the *Evening Post*. We doubt if any more important document has appeared from an individual since the war began; certainly nothing can surpass it as a contribution to history, and nothing has appeared which more completely damns every German pretence as to this being a war forced upon them by the greed and envy of their neighbors. In its completeness it is more striking and amazing than we were led to believe in our comments upon it last week, and we are not surprised that the Prince is now facing trial for letting some one print it through a "breach of confidence." The German militarists and imperialists are justified from their point of view in trying him for treason. If that document gets abroad in Germany, it will do infinite harm to them, and it cannot be whistled away as the Vice-Chancellor von Payer tried to dispose of it by asserting that Lichnowsky was in ignorance of much that happened, that he was wounded in his vanity, and is generally indulging in a grievance. There is too much intrinsic evidence of the correctness of the Prince's statements, and we know too much from the other side to allow any question as to the accuracy of the picture the Prince draws of what led up to the catastrophe. His tributes to the proper bearing of Sir Edward Grey and of Mr. Asquith during the crisis will never be forgotten. Gradually the remaining links in the chain of evidence are being forged by German hands; the public opinion of the world correctly sensed the situation and apportioned the blame two years ago. Now from German sources comes one bit of proof after another to demonstrate that upon the Kaiser and his Foreign Office and his militarists rests the most fearful guilt in the history of mankind.

CHANGES in the British Cabinet are due in part to military disappointments and in part to home politics, particularly Irish. The Earl of Derby offered his resignation as War Secretary at the time of the row over General Robertson. It was not accepted then, but now he is sent to Paris to make room for Lord Milner. The latter has the reputation of possessing a kind of Prussian vigor, all of which he will certainly need in his new position. The chief surprise is the promotion of Austen Chamberlain to be a member of the War Cabinet. Doubtless the main reason is because he has been one of the Unionists working on the Home Rule bill for Ireland, and this son of his father could be very useful to Lloyd George in persuading Conservatives to agree to Irish self-government as "a war measure." But the real joke of Chamberlain's promotion is on Lord Northcliffe. The latter had in his newspaper declared in advance that to select such a "mediocrity" as Chamberlain would be to "trifle" with the nation. But Lloyd George defied the *Daily Mail* and appointed a man who had in Parliament denounced its owner as one who acted "not only in a way in which patriotic citizens would not act in war time, but in a way in which gentlemen did not act at any time." And now Northcliffe's dignity is so offended by the Chamberlain promotion that he himself threatens to resign as director of propaganda. Such a calamity we think that both the objects of his propaganda and the British Government could perhaps endure with marked cheerfulness.

THE Irish question is rapidly becoming internationalized. Lloyd George went to great lengths, for the Prime Minister of a proud country, in admitting that Parliament ought to legislate, on what has always been called a purely domestic matter, in a way to satisfy the American people and Government. The Irish have themselves caught up the idea. They are talking of laying their case before President Wilson and, indeed, the whole world. Echoes are coming back to Ireland from the United States, from Canada, from Australia. The demand is rising, and is being assented to by many Unionists in England, and even by some in Ulster, that if there is to be conscription in Ireland, there certainly must be Home Rule. How they are to be coupled is now the only thing in doubt. The conscription bill is, of course, already law. But its enforcement is not to be undertaken in Ireland for several months. In the interval an Irish Parliament may be set up. The opportunity for conciliatory and prudent statesmanship is great. With self-government for Ireland now distinctly labelled as a necessary war measure, old oppositions are melting away. Even Sir Edward Carson concedes the main point. Professor Dicey, who has fought Home Rule for more than thirty years, writes that if the Government declares it necessary in order to win the war, he will surrender on the spot. As for the Irish themselves, with all their firm and united front against conscription, they are not blind to what may reasonably be asked of them after their national aspirations are satisfied. It was expressed in the telegram of Irishmen in Georgia to John Dillon, urging him to insist upon Home Rule, but also to pledge Irishmen to do their full part in the war against Germany.

CANADA'S response to the demand for men on the western front is an order by which all unmarried men and childless widowers between twenty and twenty-three years of age will be sent into the army after only a physical examination. No exemptions on account of occupation or dependents will be granted. The Premier has stated that by the end of April 47,000 men will have been sent abroad under the Military Service act, and others are in camp; but this new measure the Government believes required to fill the contemplated quota of 100,000 rapidly enough to keep the division in France at full strength. If

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the exigencies of the war and need for reinforcements demand it, men of other ages will be called out under the same emergency orders, disregarding exemption pleas. It is a stern step to take at the very time the farming season opens, and in the face of the use made of exemptions to placate local sentiment hostile to conscription; but it is evidence of Canada's earnestness.

EVERY loyal American should applaud the President's letter to Senator Overman opposing the Court-Martial bill. The President says:

> I am wholly and unalterably opposed to such legislation, and very much value the opportunity you give me to say so. I think it not only unconstitutional, but that in character it would put us nearly upon the level of the very people we are fighting and affecting to despise. It would be altogether inconsistent with the spirit and practice of America, and in view of the recent legislation, the Espionage bill, the Sabotage bill, and the Woman Spy bill, I think it is unnecessary and uncalled for.
>
> I take the liberty, my dear Senator, of expressing myself in this emphatic way, because my feeling is very deep about the matter, as I gather your own is.

The Administration ought to be given the powers necessary for the efficient discharge of the herculean tasks imposed on it by the war, and the Department of Justice and the courts ought to be given whatever powers they may lack for dealing promptly and effectively with plotters against the Government. This is no time for trifling with disloyalists of any kind. But neither is it a time for overturning the established landmarks of civil liberty except on convincing proof of the imperative necessity of such action. The President has forcibly indicated that in his belief no such necessity exists, and his opinion is clearly entitled to the greatest weight. Let the courts and the other Departments of the Government use vigorously the broad powers already entrusted to them, let the people soberly and earnestly support the duly constituted authorities in apprehending and punishing those who would oppose the Government in carrying on its work, let the Congress give to the Executive the powers it needs for reorganization of certain parts of the war-making machinery, and we shall see the nation steadily moving on in its task, without excitement and lost motion.

A NEW feature of the campaign for the third Liberty Loan is the sense of rivalry among cities and States. Our sporting spirit has at last been roused. As a people, we were not accustomed to buying Government bonds. In the West and South, as well as in many corners of the East, the operation was commonly thought of as "plutocratic." Two Liberty Loans have sufficed to dissipate that feeling, and the very nature of the campaigns, with the allotting of "quotas," has now definitely given the effort the aspect of an appeal to local and sectional pride. A double obstacle has thus been overcome: the tendency to look upon the war as an affair primarily of the East, and the traditional view of Wall Street. It is no small triumph to have aroused Wichita and Seattle to watch each other's standing in the Liberty Loan race for the pennant.

THE announcement by the Democratic State Central Committee of Minnesota that it will not place a candidate in the field to oppose Senator Nelson gives effect to President Wilson's endorsement of him for reëlection. It will be a hardy—a foolhardy—Democrat who will enter the race now. The same situation is reported to exist in Iowa, although the President has not come out for Senator Kenyon. He will have no opposition among Republicans, and it is stated that the Democrats will nominate no one against him. Fair play would seem to require that two Democratic Senators be found whose reëlection the Republicans will not oppose. Doubtless almost all of the Senators whose terms expire next March would welcome a general agreement that their reëlection be guaranteed by both parties. The obstacle to such an arrangement lies as much in rivalry within the parties as between them. Here is Thompson, of Kansas, for example, pleading with his fellow-Democrats to return him because of his active support of the President. But the Sunflower State, we are assured, while intensely patriotic, "isn't going to let the war crisis stop the political game." And Thompson hasn't distributed the patronage in a way to suit everybody; hence a demand for one Hugh Farrelly, who, it is urged, would be as effective as Thompson in forwarding the war programme and would apportion the jobs much more satisfactorily.

COMPLAINTS about the mail service are given definite form by the report of the Director of Research of the Merchants' Association of New York. It must be said that this report makes out a case demanding drastic treatment. Delays not only in mail for the soldiers in France and not only in second-class matter, but in letters within and between cities, are declared to be extremely frequent. In the early weeks of the war, and in the congestion due to the unprecedented weather last winter, there was some excuse for lack of promptness in deliveries. But the investigation by the Merchants' Association has shown that these irregularities are continuing, and that they are caused by conditions that need not exist. Large quantities of mail, for instance, including business letters mailed at the close of the day, are being seriously delayed through the failure of motor mail-wagons in this city to carry them to outgoing postal-car trains departing from the various railway stations. "Terrible" is the word that the report employs, and it adds that the situation here is only a duplicate of that throughout the country. "The entire Post Office Department," it declares, "is disorganized and demoralized." The House Committee that plans to investigate delays in mail deliveries to our men in France should broaden its examination to cover the breakdown at home.

FAILURE of private capital to prepare to use the Barge Canal on a large scale, and the Legislature's neglecting to provide for a fleet of State barges, left it to the Federal Government to say whether the waterway should be idle or adequately employed. The answer is Secretary McAdoo's order that the canal be taken over by the Railway Administration, and a large number of 700-ton barges built for it. For this the State had obviously been waiting, and doubtless so has private capital. Controlling the materials and much of the labor, it is easier for the Government to build barges in a hurry than for any one else. At any rate, we may hope that by midsummer a large traffic will be moving to this port or out into the coastwise trade. The coöperation which Governor Whitman promises will chiefly lie in completion of loading and unloading facilities.

GOOD "politics" and good roads do not invariably go together in Indiana. More than one County Commis-

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sioner there is marked for defeat because he dared to vote for appropriations for better highways. If that State were alone in its backwardness, the matter might not be serious, but Hoosiers who cannot contemplate the spending of money upon roads without horror are representative of too many people all over the country. All the arguments except one were on the side of the roads. Federal officials emphasized the military value of improved highways. State and local officials pointed out once more the profit to farmers in having roads that would facilitate their getting their produce to market at the best times. Nor did the counties stand alone. The plan was for systems of highways covering a considerable area. One county might be willing to put up with roughness and mud, but that meant a gap in the line. The fact, however, that the improvement could not be had for nothing weighed heavily in certain places.

NEW YORK city is to be congratulated on the swift results of the remarkable public upheaval against the proposed secret inquisition into the Health Department. The Mayor's investigation is now to be conducted in the open, and instead of a search for "graft," it is to pursue its original purpose of inquiring into economies. Every reason exists, however, for keeping an eye on Mr. Hylan's efforts in that direction. One need only read the letter from the Director of the Bureau of Laboratories, outlining a possible saving of $9,000 a year in that bureau's work, to wonder whether a policy of economy which cuts to the bone is justified by the amount saved as contrasted with the means necessary to attain such saving. Dr. Park suggests the replacing of laboratory assistants with a budgetary salary of sixteen dollars a week by new workers at less than fourteen dollars a week, or considerably below the wages of employees in the Street Cleaning Department. As a result, says Dr. Park, some of the investigations which have been carried on by the Bureau will be greatly limited, but he yields to the exigencies of war times. The question is whether it is not precisely in war times, with the possibility of all sorts of demands on every bit of special scientific knowledge we can muster, that such a cutting down ought to be avoided.

THE rumors that America's oldest orchestra, the New York Philharmonic, might give up its performances till the end of the war were fortunately set at rest at a meeting of the directors last week, at which it was decided to continue the concerts next season according to the usual schedule. It would have been an artistic calamity to have such a break occur; we need all the good music we can get to calm our nerves, and it would have been difficult to restore the orchestra to the splendid degree of efficiency it has reached under such great conductors as Theodore Thomas, Anton Seidl, Wassili Safonoff, Gustav Mahler, and Josef Stransky. The question at issue was the difficulty in war time of meeting the usual inevitable deficit; for it is well known that even if the hall were crowded at every performance, the income would fall far short of the expenses. We cannot afford to be a less musical community than London, which has kept its own venerable Philharmonic going as usual these four war years. Among those who attended last week's meeting were some very wealthy patrons of music. Could not one or several of these be persuaded to do for our Philharmonic, in this emergency, what Sir Thomas Beecham did for its namesake in London?

A Battle of the Nations

SO far as the war on the land is concerned, the World War has merged and concentrated into the Battle of the Western Front. But for the very reason that the supreme strength and determination of the combatants are converging towards a focus, it is necessary that we should learn to think of this "battle" in France and Belgium in other terms than we have applied to earlier battles, Galicia, Verdun, the Somme. Even the Marne, which is the only struggle that will compare for the momentous issues involved with the one in which we are now engaged, offers no complete parallel. The Marne was the last great battle of the old style. It was fought by armies in the open. It was decided in less than a week. It employed the weapons of manœuvre, or, in other words, it was an attempt on both sides to carry out a plan, in which the Germans failed and Joffre succeeded. To-day we are witnessing the strategy of brute force. Forethought and cunning no doubt play their part, but in essence it is a contest of attrition, as Hindenburg has put it. The Germans have set out to make it a killing match in the expectation that they will be the slower to bleed white. By Germany's own statement, she will have lost the war if the Allies can stand the strain.

Other theatres of the war do not matter. Whatever now may happen in Asia Minor or in Salonica will be validated or nullified by results in the west. Consider what the appointment of Foch as generalissimo and the dispatch of Italian troops to France mean. They mean the subordination of every other interest to the one purpose of winning on the western front. Until they were confronted by this supreme test, the Allies, for the reason that they were allies, could not be brought to this viewpoint. Last autumn it was still being argued that a generalissimo for the Allies was impossible because there was a point beyond which no nation would go in its sacrifices for the common cause. Suppose an Allied generalissimo named Foch considered it necessary to surrender Venice or Cairo in order to save Paris; it was inconceivable. To-day the thing can be imagined. When we recall that an Austrian attack upon Italy is considered by many observers to be imminent, when we read that Italian troops are nevertheless going to France, we see that the ideal of unity has been attained.

What Italy is now doing, America did months ago when we pressed in the Council of the Allies for a complete pooling of interests, and followed it up with the offer of our own army some weeks since. England has fallen into line. Up to the last a man like Colonel Repington protested against the surrender of the autonomy of the British army. Colonel Repington now writes:

> No one in his senses doubts the importance of Calais and Boulogne for air, naval, and military operations. An advance upon them will be resisted step by step along the whole British front. *But there is one interest which is supreme and which takes precedence even over the defence of these two ports—namely, the preservation, at no matter what cost,* of the union of the Anglo-French armies.

In other words, if Foch should be compelled to give the word that Calais and Boulogne must be abandoned, it will be done. And the proper state of mind in which to regard such an event is not to think of it as the lost battle of Calais, but as an incident only in the Battle of the Nations which will not be decided until the armies of the Allied

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nations are crushed or the German tide starts running back. This is the state of mind in which we must read the dispatches from the front day by day. It is no paradox to say that we cannot afford to lose heart over the setbacks of this week or next, because we need all our courage for a good many weeks to come. The sober and basic consideration to keep in mind is not the daily shift of the battle-line, but the fact that Germany has set out on an enterprise which she is bound to carry on to the last ounce of power. She has staked everything, and she will dare everything. She, too, will give up all thought of the war elsewhere. It is not enough to count the German divisions. If Germany feels the need, she will bring up Austrians and Bulgarians and Turks. It will be the Central Allies against the Entente Allies in a very real sense. If she sees eluding her the victory which she has promised herself, after one final "blood-bath," Germany will not hesitate to withdraw every man from Servia and Russia. She started to win world dominion on the battlefields of France, and she has returned to that idea under compulsion.

We must think of this world battle in terms of months precisely as we may be sure Germany is thinking, and as the Allied Governments are now thinking. This is the meaning of the call for American troops who cannot enter into the battle for months to come. This is the thought behind Bonar Law's statement that the Government will not begin to apply conscription in Ireland till August 1. The Allied leaders are looking ahead, and so must we. In the face of good news—short of another miracle like the Marne—or of bad news short of a catastrophe—we must read the news of the day in the knowledge that the Battle of the Nations is not going to be lost or won in a week.

How the Ships Are Built

MR. SCHWAB'S appointment as Director-General of the Fleet Corporation calls renewed attention to the now intimate association of the business of steelmaking and shipbuilding. The Bethlehem Steel Company has become one of the greatest of shipbuilding corporations. The United States Steel Corporation will in June begin the launching of a ship every ten days. Chairman Gary said last week that it had intended to stay out. But an official "asked if we could not undertake the work, since ships were so urgently needed, and after careful study we decided that we could at least build ships as cheaply, as quickly, and get into the business as rapidly as any one else." Other steelmakers are shipbuilders. In England the British *Shipbuilding and Shipping Record* notes the same connection:

> Outside of official circles the talk is, significantly enough, of combinations for the purpose of post-war business of steel-makers and yards. It does not follow that the effect of such combinations would be a development on logical lines of the fabrication of ships. But we need not shut our eyes to the fact that a closer union of steel-making and shipbuilding is the thin edge of a wedge of exactly that sort.

Fabricated ships were known years ago on the Great Lakes because made there by the iron-ore companies for a standardized purpose; in coal transportation they were becoming known to the coasting trade. To-day the American shipbuilding programme is very preponderantly, the British largely, one of fabricated ships. The Government yards at Hog Island, Newark, and Bristol, Pa., with their total of ninety ways and a launching capacity when in full operation exceeding that of all British yards before the war, are simply assembling yards. So are two of England's three new national yards. Mr. Hurley tells us that as against the country's 162 shipways eight months ago we have 195 equipped to turn out steel vessels and shall soon have 398. It would have been impracticable to provide labor or material for so many ways at once except upon the plan of standardizing the vessels and making them as far as possible before the parts reach the yards. In the Hog Island yard, where 120 ships of 7,500 and 8,000 tons are contracted for, and in one-fifth the time two-thirds as much money will be spent as in constructing the Panama Canal, about a half-million tons of steel must go into the vessels—4,460 tons into each of the heavier. Over 95 per cent. of this steel will be fabricated outside the yards, ready for erection and riveting. Every detail has been so worked out that manufacturing in quantity will require very few operations. The ship designs, as in other yards, are of straight lines and flat surfaces as far as possible, the decks being without sheer, the sides and bottoms straight for the maximum distance amidships. For the Submarine Boat Corporation in Newark, over 96 per cent. of the hulls will be shipped in ready-made. Careful drawings—330 for the hull alone—made it possible to order pieces to exact size and in great quantities. Even much riveting can be done outside, the limit being the railways' ability to haul large shapes.

Already we see how the fabricated ship makes for speed of construction. The record is held by Skinner & Eddy, of Seattle, which firm recently launched the Seattle in 78 days and delivered it in 137, and has now launched the Ossineke in 64 days and delivered it in 109. Both are 8,800-ton freighters, such as would have required nearly a year before the war. *International Marine Engineering* tells us that the Seattle manager "has perfected what might be called a fabrication of all parts of the ship. That is, he consistently maintains a method of supplying finished material for any part of a ship under construction, piled up ready for use exactly at the point of installation, and this method has been perfected at this plant to such fine detail that the first plate, shape, bar, or bolt required is always on top." The same systematic yard management is provided at Hog Island, Newark, and all up and down the coast. There are great classification yards, storehouses, and shops where the materials are sorted, finished if necessary, and laid ready to hand. It will always be possible to tell the exact number in the yard of every article going into the ships, the spaces available for material, the number of parts ordered, and the number en route. At Hog Island the men working on the ways are divided into specialist gangs, each performing one operation. The gangs will serve on one group of five ways, shifting from one to the next for each particular job, so that as work on the fifth way is finished a new ship is ready for the same operation on the first way.

Beyond a certain point the saving of labor and time cannot go. The 7,500-ton fabricated ship will need 650,000 rivets, and the work of driving them is nearly as great as ever. Up to six months ago even the largest Atlantic yard had not driven more than 200,000 rivets in any one week. Some believe that the chief benefit of the fabricated-ship plan will be found, not in general construction, but in the fact that "the machinery and the outfit, the winches, pumps, steering gear, engines and boilers, and a thousand things that go into a ship" will also be standardized for quantity

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production outside the yards. At any rate, by this plan alone could we have come within sight of our goal in 1918, and by it the shipbuilding industry is being revolutionized.

The effects of the new methods will extend far beyond the shipbuilding industry itself. Standardization is a process highly congenial to American business practice, and American, as compared with British and Continental, shipbuilding will clearly occupy a far more important position after the war than at its beginning. What this will mean for shipping and foreign trade we cannot yet begin to discern. But clearly we are forging another link in the chain that is to bind us to all the nations.

Will Germany Disarm?

TO most Americans these words doubtless are as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. Yet the last number of the *New Europe* summarizes an article by Professor Delbrück cautiously urging disarmament from the standpoint of purely German interests. International arbitration and disarmament could have no place in the calculation of the statesmen before the war, says Delbrück, yet it is now possible with certain reservations to believe "that these derided notions, hitherto entertained only by persons of no account, are to be raised to the position of the ruling principle of our time." This astonishing confession of faith comes from one of Berlin's most respected thinkers.

Delbrück assumes, of course, that the "ring of iron" was deliberately forged by Germany's present foes for the purpose of crushing her. Given that assumption, his argument proceeds thus: The Russian Czardom was a constant menace to Germany. "Autocracy can never bring domestic peace"; hence foreign adventure as a means of relief for domestic evils. But Russian autocracy gone, the Slav peril disappears, and Germany can afford to consider disarmament. France, unsuccessful in this war, can never again summon to her aid in the work of revenge a coalition as formidable as the present one; therefore she, too, will be ready for permanent peace. There remains Great Britain. The U-boat in a decade will be ten times more powerful than at present. Pacifism is Great Britain's sole hope of meeting domestic and imperial difficulties alike. But the Indian Empire rests on force, and Britain must likewise settle accounts with Japan. Given a settlement that will let these two states lay down their arms, military and naval disarmament alike will be attended with little risk to Germany. Summarizing, Delbrück argues that "Germany is the only one of the Great Powers which, both in domestic solidarity and in military power, has little or no reason to seek relief in pacifism, and for that very reason she has least to fear from disarmament and arbitration."

The financial burdens of armament constituted no weighty argument for disarmament before the war, says Delbrück, but that consideration has now acquired real force. Armaments do not bring wars, he avers; rather they are the instruments of policy. Disarmament and arbitration, then, are to be favored on three grounds: first, that without them the intolerable burden of debt and taxation will bring the world to a state worse than the present war; second, that "the war will create conditions in peace which will make peace itself worth preserving and easier to preserve"; and third, that "Germany has less to fear from a simultaneous limitation of armed force by sea and land than any other nation, and consequently dare not withhold the boon from the rest of the world."

In reading Professor Delbrück's essay, we must restrain our natural impatience with his erroneous assumptions concerning the causes of the war, his natural pride in the present military situation, and his rather patronizing attitude towards the rest of us. The important question is simply whether his ideas offer us any practical help in our efforts to bring the war to a righteous close and to insure a durable peace. The militarists have Germany by the throat, and undoubtedly their grip has been in many ways strengthened by the events of the half-year since Delbrück wrote. But it so happens that their further military progress only strengthens his argument. Unless we are to assume, as a large part of our countrymen honestly do assume, that the Germans have gone clean mad, then we are obliged to argue that no matter what the blindness of the war lords, the civil authorities and the great body of the people, who furnish the cannon fodder and pay the taxes, must appreciate the force, from the purely German point of view, of the argument for disarmament. We believe, in other words, in opposition to many current notions, that Delbrück is spokesman for an important body of opinion in Germany.

Why, then, it will be asked, have the German generals hitherto been able to command the support of this body of opinion? The common answer is, because the whole German people has been corrupted by militarist and imperialist ambitions. It is well to recall Lincoln's dictum, "You cannot indict a whole people." Reading no more than the scanty items of news that the censor allows to filter through, the fair-minded student realizes that the generals retain the support of the ordinary German citizen because he firmly believes that the very existence of his country, in face of greedy and covetous foes, depends on them. The idea appears to us Americans as so contrary to the facts that we cannot understand how any rational person can believe it; yet such is the German belief.

While the guns roar on the western front, and while we hurry to the support of our allies every man for whom we can find transport, let us at the same time try to understand the mind of those against whom we fight. To find that any of the Germans are even now prepared to accept one of the great fundamentals of a lasting peace must indeed be heartening to the President, who has steadily striven to raise the conflict above the level of a conflict for territory to the plane of a struggle for justice and permanent peace.

If Germany and all the nations are willing actually to disarm at the end of the war, the rest follows almost automatically. For disarmament implies as a condition precedent that limitation of national sovereignty which is involved in any scheme of world organization. It implies the adjustment of international relations on the basis of reason and not of force. It deprives the big states of their power to lord it over the little ones, and almost of itself carries with it to all peoples the right of self-determination. It puts an end to colonial exploitation and investment competition based on comparative military and naval power.

We do not mean to suggest that disarmament mechanically brings about these results—rather that it must rest on these conditions. When Professor Delbrück seriously suggests disarmament, let us welcome this German reinforcement to our cause, and continue still, along with our military efforts, the attempt to reach the reason and conscience of the German people.

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A Harvard Liberal Movement

THE formation of a group of Harvard Liberal Clubs seems fairly to have shaken some of the elms at Cambridge. Not without reason. Since Harvard and Harvard men usually have the comfortable feeling that all is entirely well with them and their university, any outward sign of discontent is disconcerting. The formation of these clubs is a distinct sign of unrest among certain graduates. It would be hard for them, we suppose, to phrase the exact reasons for this discontent, and we have as yet seen no such formulation. But the burden of their complaint seems to be the ultra-conservatism of Harvard and of the administration of its affairs and the domination of the Board of Overseers by representatives of State Street and Wall Street. In some quarters there is also reported a certain dissatisfaction with the presidency of Dr. Lowell. Under him, it is alleged, there has been a falling off in the calibre of the teaching force, while the faculty has degenerated from the most important collegiate debating body into one which chiefly registers approval of the president's acts.

As to the worth of these criticisms of President Lowell, the *Nation* possesses as yet no definite facts upon which to base a sound opinion. We have been aware of a certain faculty unrest, but on the other hand we have gratefully recorded our appreciation of President Lowell's admirable definition of the teacher's *Lehrfreiheit*, and Harvard at least has been free from the charge of narrow intolerance justly brought against many of our privately and State-owned colleges since our part in the war began. Nothing could have been wiser or finer than President Lowell's handling of the Münsterberg and other cases. On the other hand, the exclusion or apparent exclusion of Mrs. Skeffington and Mrs. Pankhurst from the college grounds seemed to us a mistake, for the doors were thrown open widely to other forms of propaganda. As to the deterioration of the teaching force, it is undeniable that there has been a weakening in certain departments; how far Mr. Lowell himself is responsible and how far other causes is not clear. And it does seem to be true, too, that both in the Overseers and in the faculty Mr. Lowell has the defects of a vigorously executive temperament; he does drive through business, express his own views fully and freely, and then seem rather impatient of other people's opinions. Yet there are plenty of men in both faculty and Overseers who are his devoted admirers and supporters.

So far as the domination of the Overseers by representatives of Wall Street and State Street is concerned, that is a fact upon which the *Nation* has frequently dwelt; indeed, it is a *Nation* editorial which has been freely circulated by the organizers of the Harvard Liberal Clubs of Boston and New York as one reason for their being. For this condition of affairs, the alumni, as we have pointed out, are themselves to blame. There is an excellent if complicated nominating system; the graduates may vote by mail in a primary which this year comprises twenty-four candidates. The fourteen receiving the highest votes will appear on the final ballots at the election on Commencement Day in Cambridge, at which graduates must vote in person, the seven highest being chosen (two more than usual, in order to fill vacancies due to death). Hence, if the candidates elected are not representative or are otherwise unsatisfactory, it is entirely the fault of the graduates.

This year, of the twenty-four candidates, two are clergymen, five are lawyers, three are bankers, six are concerned with large business enterprises, directly or as trustees, one is a physician, two are college presidents (Thwing and Hollis), one is a *litterateur*, one a social worker; still another is Henry Cabot Lodge. In addition, there are an architect and a judge of most enlightened tendencies. Dividing them in another way, we should say that there were thirteen affiliated with large business or banking enterprises, as lawyers, managers, or trustees. To them could be added Senator Lodge as representing the business ultra-conservatives, or fourteen in all. Obviously, the presence of ten on the list who are not affiliated with wealth is as much a concession to the recent criticisms as is the fact that no member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. or Lee, Higginson & Co. is on the list—only a vice-president of the National City Bank. There could certainly be no better names selected than those of Joseph Lee, or the Rev. Minot Simons, or Judge Julian Mack, or the Rev. Paul Revere Frothingham, or Henry Dwight Sedgwick, or Dr. Henry Jackson. The election of this group would be significant. Indeed, their nominations recall the recent choice of a radical spirit, John F. Moors, to the Harvard Corporation—a self-perpetuating body, often considered ultra-conservative.

As the Board of Overseers now stands, it comprises sixteen men who are affiliated with large businesses, railroads, and banks, and twelve who belong to various professions. Last year five were elected, of whom one was a soldier, one a police commissioner, one the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, one a judge, and one an able executive who embarrassed his nominators by joining the firm of Lee, Higginson & Co. immediately after his election! Obviously, in obedience to the national trend of the hour, there was an effort to get away from the usual group. There can be a similarly useful step towards broadening the composition of the Board this year and making it more representative, if the graduates so desire.

To this end the Liberal Clubs will, we presume, devote themselves. The Boston one has already expressed its interest in such a question as the development of the instruction in science in the light of the return to Harvard of the McKay millions. It has already been accused of being guilty of all sorts of crimes, including impudence and effrontery. We are convinced that if wisely directed these clubs can be of great service to the University, which suffers, and always has suffered, from over-conservatism and too great tenderness towards the wealthy; her great radicals like Wendell Phillips have perhaps flourished less because of than in spite of the Harvard trend. Most Harvard graduates, indeed, lament the nearness of the Back Bay to Cambridge and will regret that of the twenty-four candidates for Overseers this year only four (two from Cleveland and two from Chicago) reside outside of New York and New England, just as many are disturbed because only three of the existing Overseers live west or south of Washington, D. C. Should the Liberal Clubs find a way to broaden this geographical representation, they would by that act alone prove their worth. But it is quite possible that if the example of these Harvard graduates is followed and Liberal Clubs rise among the alumni associations of other universities, we may see the organizing of a sound body of liberal opinion throughout the country, certain to be of enormous value to the nation in the trying days that are to come after the war.

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French Classicism and the Modern Spirit
A Plea for the Eighteenth Century

By E. PRESTON DARGAN

THE thesis of this article is that the successive modern movements in French literature, dating approximately from the end of the seventeenth century, are to be differentiated from the age of classicism in two main respects: the tendency towards relativity and the tendency towards expansionism. The modern mind is relative in that it is frequently skeptical concerning absolute truths and also in that it seeks to relate and associate the various fields of knowledge and art. The modern mind is expansive as regards literary forms: it has enlarged their number and broken down the barriers between them; it has made more and more domains of knowledge susceptible of literary treatment.

Classicism, on the other hand, in a restricted field, seems to deal more with permanent and universal human values; it implies the integrity of each form, it demands concentration and narrowing down. Concentration makes the unity of the French classic drama, it is a feature of the smaller *genres* imported from antiquity, and it characterizes also the majority of the more native forms. Largely owing to the influence of the ancients, classicism likewise upheld definite restrictions in subject-matter and treatment. And expansionism is not only thwarted within each form, but it is much limited in the classic production viewed as a whole. Certain philosophical, polemical, and moralistic writings would exhaust the list of respects in which the age of Boileau broadened the age of Horace. In fact, to adopt De Quincey's distinction, the seventeenth century represents primarily the more imaginative literature of *power*, while the eighteenth puts the emphasis on the literature of *knowledge* and lets down the bars to admit its many varieties. The former concentrates on art and on the inner nature of man; the latter stresses society and science, which ever "grows from more to more." Probably knowledge is now the basis for the increasing "differentiation" and "heterogeneity" of eighteenth-century literature. So much for expansionism. Now as to relativity.

The wide divergence between classic and modern aims is still more conspicuous on philosophic grounds. What is the attitude of the seventeenth century towards the Absolutes, the great traditional beliefs in king, church, and literary law? A phrase once used by Richelieu sums it up: "Une loi, un roi, une foi." Belief in this trinity is dogmatic and almost universal. "Un roi"—because Louis commanded France and dominated Europe, and because in literary matters patronage and reputation proceeded with rare exceptions from the court and its dependencies. "Une foi"—because from the expulsion of the Protestants free thought was restricted to the subterranean channels of the *libertins*. "Une loi"—because the literary law, as unified and codified by Boileau, aroused little protest until the quarrel of ancients and moderns. The dogmatism of Boileau was thus paralleled by the dogmatism of Bossuet. In every field the absolute was supreme and there was allowed little discussion of fundamentals. "Les grands sujets sont défendus," complained La Bruyère in 1688, and it is from La Bruyère that issue the first mutterings of social revolt. But this writer clings in the main to conservative beliefs, and he is firm in his allegiance to literary classicism.

The attack on that doctrine is found rather in the quarrel of ancients and moderns, with its far-reaching effect on modern ideas. Descartes's principle of free inquiry is henceforth applied to literature with the result that skepticism liberates the conception of possible progress, or evolution, which in one form or another has dominated thought ever since. The idea of progress contains, it will appear, the corollaries of a skeptical relativity—hence tolerance—a thickening solidarity of knowledge, a growing expansionism in every field, a tendency to admit new ideas, new forms, new relations. Progressivism thus amplified is the characteristic mark of the eighteenth century, to which, in more respects than is generally realized, the nineteenth is tremendously indebted. Modern thought dates from the twilight of Louis XIV, and it starts invading literature, as Brunetière and others have shown, with Perrault's revolt against the ancients.

Perrault's main argument is that the moderns are superior on account of the accumulation of their civilized knowledge and apparatus. Thus is initiated the confusion between science and art which permeates the eighteenth century and much of the nineteenth; for the products of the imagination depend less than scientific knowledge upon accumulations and inheritances. But science is only one of the modifiers by which the school of Perrault relativizes literature. Already this movement breaks down the barriers of the *grand goût* by appealing to the fashionable verdict, by considering taste a variable thing, by widening its applications to other arts and to the budding sciences.

Fontenelle also stands for the idea of *rapports* especially between sciences, he holds by the fixity of natural laws rather than literary, and he widens the field of letters to include several novelties. He introduces scientific popularizing in the "Pluralité des mondes," and he opens the way to religious skepticism in his "Histoire des oracles," anticipating the method of Bayle and of Voltaire.

The former evinces much relativity in his most constant attitude, which is that of tolerance through skepticism. Bayle's indifferent liberalism recognizes all varieties of belief, whether religious or literary—but on condition that nothing shall be considered absolute. Skepticism dominates in his treatment of metaphysics and religion, of history and morality. The Deity becomes a variable, almost a tribal, God; the great figures of history are rationalized in the manner of Bernard Shaw. The idea of a universal moral law is viewed as contradicting experience and as changing with latitude; the rest of the century will develop this relativity due to differences in time and clime. Bayle also opens the age of the *philosophes* in the direction of expansionism. His extensive knowledge and curiosity take form in that Dictionary which is the beginning of the Encyclopædic movement; this work is the source of much of Voltaire's "Dictionnaire philosophique," and it foreshadows the "Grande Encyclopédie" itself; and these three are the standing records of the widening thought of the century.

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Besides science and skepticism, what are the new modifiers, the chief *rapports*, which now serve to relativize and expand belles lettres? Among them must be mentioned journalism, with its constant references to the actual; the *salon* spirit, already found in Fontenelle, with its wit, its popularizing, and its prettiness; and the growth of cosmopolitanism, conspicuous in the direction of English thought and Oriental apologues, in either case implying comparative standards of judgment. Such are the influences which appear fully in the lifework of Montesquieu and of Voltaire.

Montesquieu's taste for positive realities was early encouraged by scientific studies. From the beginning he is occupied less with abstract essences than with *rapports* and with the mores as facts. He inaugurates the comparative sociological method even in the journalistic and iconoclastic "Lettres persanes"; the "Esprit des lois" is at once encyclopædic and relative in its search after proximate causes. Montesquieu expanded French letters to include jurisprudence, political economy, and the science of government.

The great vitality and universality of Voltaire imply more expansionism than can here be handled at length. He endeavors to make literature out of *la philosophie*, out of scientific popularizing and polemics, out of his dictionary, out of social documents and four kinds of history and every kind of poetry, to say nothing of his correspondence. *La philosophie*, taken in the century's most expansive sense, includes for Voltaire physics and metaphysics, religion and ethics, politics and social reform. Often, of course, he twists art to the service of propaganda, and some of his literary conquests are more apparent than real. But undoubtedly he does win over several strongholds not hitherto included in the domain of polite letters.

In his doctrine, Voltaire is constantly relative and skeptical. He pulls metaphysics down from the clouds. He takes almost the pragmatic view of abstracts and absolutes. He rejects the Cartesian belief in innate ideas and is "ignorant" about the attributes of Deity, the soul, duty, and absolute truth. His basic standpoint is practical and social, and thus he relativizes morality. His Deity is a much attenuated Jehovah, and his four-square skeptical bastion confronts Catholic dogma, the priesthood, the supernatural, and intolerance. The persecuting priesthood is, *par excellence*, "the infamous one." Intolerance is ridiculous, because our beliefs are conditioned by our environment, and there are many partial reflections of the truth. Natural religion is a good eclectic synthesis. In social legislation, Voltaire is usually progressive and humanitarian; but he apprehends truth relatively and too often evasively; his theories of reform are then pragmatic, practical, even *terre-à-terre*.

It is time to turn to the belletristic field, where expansionism is more restricted on account of the prolonged influence of the classic masters. There, too, Voltaire's is the dominant name, and as regards the old *genres* Voltaire is known to be mainly conservative. But his poetry is often propagandist, and it will be recalled how he widens the scope of the *conte*. Even into tragedy he insinuates doctrine, and he introduces as many variations as the form and the audience will stand: more action, apparatus, "business," blood, and ghosts. Through Shakespeare Voltaire steps forward towards Romanticism, but he is ever looking over his shoulder at Racine. He increases at any rate the range of subjects, using nearly twenty different countries and periods.

The scope of drama in general is widened by the new thought. One school of comedy is called "philosophic" and may be represented by Marivaux, in his depictions of ideal commonwealths and equal suffrage. La Chaussée introduces a form intermediate between comedy and tragedy, and Diderot, though successful only in theory, anticipates the naturalistic serious comedy of the nineteenth century. Beaumarchais, in the lax and thickly crowded form of the "Mariage de Figaro," no less than in its revolutionary ideas, doubly foreshadows the new order.

There are other signs of theoretic emancipation from neo-classicism. Lamotte rises up against authority in his attacks on poetry and the unities. He and Fontenelle adopt almost an algebraic standpoint towards poetry, which they would rationalize into prose. Free verse is recommended by others. In general criticism, Dubos insists on the relativity of taste, the influence of climate, and a sort of experimental method in appreciation.

It is true that most of these movements were rendered abortive by the continued power of neo-classicism, and Lanson contends that the novel is the only truly progressive art-genre. This form widens out towards a fuller reflection of society, and records more and more both factual and imaginative particularities. Substituting another country for France and thus employing the favorite veil of the age, Lesage observes social currents and undercurrents; Marivaux and Prévost plunge deeper psychologically, and all three show the influence of journalistic "baggage" or contemporary appeal. The novel as propaganda, the *roman philosophique*, evidently attains a wider and wider range, from the "Lettres persanes," through Voltaire, and finally in the "Nouvelle Héloise."

With the "Nouvelle Héloise," indeed, the novel breaks into romanticism and expands into individualism, nature-worship, and the passionate expression of sentiment. The expanding ego appears in the author's attitude towards society; in his personal vagabondage and impressionism; in his soaring imagination and his attitude towards women; in the frequency of the pathetic fallacy and the constant view of morality as a personal sentiment and the fact that most ideas are apprehended sentimentally and personally. The "Confessions" add a new variety to French letters; "Emile" begins modern educational theory, and the "Contrat social" almost domesticates primitivism and aggressive politics. Rousseau is surely expansive, but he is less of a relativist than an absolutist. Yet this new imaginative current, operating against cold abstractions, revives the taste for real "bits of nature" and actual sensations.

With Diderot and the Encyclopædia, the *philosophe* movement reaches its climax. Diderot more truly than Bacon "took all knowledge to be his province." His mobile and chaotic mind suggests that of a "flux" philosopher; and he foresees this *Weltanschauung*, together with such other modern views as transformism, the "fortuitous concourse of atoms," survival of the fittest, the superman, and even the Eternal Return of Nietzsche. The basis of his thought is a wide and extreme naturalism, a mixture of Lucretius and Rabelais. With Diderot, *la nature* means the cosmic welter, expanding far beyond Boileau's humanistic conception of the term. Diderot's naturalism appears in his religion, where the formula "élargissez Dieu" turns the Deity into a pervasive life-force; in his dubious morality, which allows for natural though lawless customs; in his philosophy which, discarding metaphysics, becomes a "système de la nature," reposing on a real acquaintance with natural sciences; in his artistic principles, where he recommends a broader

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connection with life in the drama as in painting; in his tales and speculative writings, where his own realism becomes unabashed and concrete. With the other *philosophes* he objects to the worship of abstractions as man-made, non-existent in nature. Religions are relative, on account of their multiplicity and the varying apprehensions of their believers. All knowledge, including that of God, is relative to our senses, and the physical is the only means of realizing the eternal. The universe is a welter and man is an irregularly developing animal; so far as we know anything, the specific natural sciences are our teachers.

Thus the great Encyclopædia, under Diderot's guidance, becomes the most expansive vehicle of science and the new liberalism. Dealing with nearly every field of knowledge, it gathers in nearly all men of note as contributors. Its three key-words are: nature, reason, humanity, and it does evince, in spite of certain critics, a "collective and organic doctrine." Among the fresh fields here introduced with varying mastery are: economics, agronomy, fiscal and bureaucratic reform, the developing arts and industries with Diderot's especial stress on the processes of the latter.

D'Alembert's preface insists on the enchainment of knowledge and its relativity to the philosophy of sensationalism. The interdependencies of science are emphasized in the argument and the arrangement of the Encyclopædia. D'Alembert sees knowledge as materialistic at bottom: "Tout s'y rapporte à nos besoins." Intellectual and to some extent social progress is the creed of these workers, evolution is more than hinted at, and there is a constant stress on facts, things, objects, and a correspondent distrust of systems and absolutes.

The other *philosophes*, sensationalists and "physiocrats," perfectionists and materialists, show some of the same tendencies. D'Holbach resumes them in his empiricism, his exaltation of physical laws, his reduction of conscience and duty to the practical and progressive. Buffon adds to literature the domain of natural history, treated in a detailed and thoughtful way, with a close regard for facts and differentiations. The study of economics, languages, etc., inclines in certain respects to the *Realien*. On the other hand, mathematics dominates too abstractly over science and philosophy itself becomes desiccated in the minds of Condillac and the ideologues; a new cold abstraction-making is in vogue, a tendency continued in the reason-worship and constitution-mongering of the Revolution. Reversion in literature also is caused by the stoppage of dramatic reforms and by the "retour à l'antique" so capably expressed in Chénier. Still, as we pause at the end of the *ancien régime*, we find the conception of social man enlarged by Rousseau's "nature" no less than by the general liberal and positive programme. The old *genres*, under the influence of Diderot and others, seem to be breaking down, though they must await the days of Romanticism for the fissures to become actual divisions. The Revolution is more effective socially than artistically. The new dawn is further anticipated by Mme. de Staël, who resumes the conquests of the eighteenth century, and by Chateaubriand, who already rules the nineteenth. This leader, independently romantic in many respects, yet swings the pendulum back towards the "Catholic and monarchical reaction"; but few reactions are as strongly rooted as the original forces which they seek to restore; in religion, politics, and literature, the lost ground was more swiftly regained, as the history of French liberalism in the nineteenth century would abundantly show.

The Pulpit and Reconstruction

By WILLIAM HERBERT

THE departure of Dr. J. H. Jowett from New York raises some interesting questions. His decision to return to England is said to have been reached chiefly on two grounds—his own personal desire to share in the task of reconstruction in his own country, and the urgent invitations reported to have been directed to him by persons prominent in English life who believe that he has a special contribution to make to the future of England. Dr. Jowett is a man of rare gifts; to one who knows him only from the pew he appears to be a singularly gracious personality. To no man of this generation has nature given a richer endowment of pulpit faculty—voice, presence, gesture, charm, and manner of speech. Like Father O'Flynn in the song, he has "a way wid him"; and the crowds that gather to listen to him prove clearly that he has an authentic and relevant message.

Nevertheless, it may be seriously doubted whether he has a contribution of a direct kind to make to reconstruction. Merely as an interesting personal problem, this doubt is perhaps hardly worth sustained discussion; but it raises the wider question whether the pulpit generally has or will have anything material to bring to society in its huge and complex task of pulling itself together again and setting about its historic business of progress. If we examine the case of Dr. Jowett, it is simply because he is the most conspicuous and successful pulpiteer of his time and is on that account generally regarded as the most authentic exponent of the preaching tradition. He fixes the type to which, according to the popular judgment, every Christian minister should aim to approximate.

But when Dr. Jowett departs from these shores, the rather bleak fact is that he will leave not one new idea of his own behind him. During the years of his New York ministry, it would be difficult to discover that he has made a single permanent contribution to the further development of religious thought. This is not written as criticism. Within his own particular cycle of ideas Dr. Jowett's movement is free and masterly; but he never gets outside that circle. It is quite likely that he would disclaim either intention or duty to purvey new ideas. He is specifically a preacher, and is in no sense a speculative thinker. But we are now speaking of reconstruction; and reconstruction is an affair of new ideas, or at least of new syntheses of old ideas. Dr. Jowett has a *Weltanschauung* of his own; and he rings the changes on its component parts with much power and grace; but it is apparently a closed-in system which does not admit of any radical revision and will remain in its essential features unchanged.

This does not mean that Dr. Jowett's ministry does not represent a necessary and valuable type. The human spirit will always need comforters; and that is peculiarly Dr. Jowett's genius. He has an unsurpassed faculty of interpreting the average man to himself, of holding the mirror up to the man in the street. He is at home among the fears, the hopes, the difficulties, the aspirations of the commonplace person; and who shall deny that this is a distinction, even a great distinction? It has been said that Mr. Bryan's popularity as an orator is largely due to the fact that his

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audiences always know how his periods will end; and whether this be nature or art on Mr. Bryan's part, there is a good deal of sound psychology in it. Every man knows his own warm response to one of his own ideas when he meets it clad in a habit of apt verse; and Mr. Jowett's hearers always know that he is talking about them. Consequently his ministry is personal and individual, stimulating rather than educative. He preaches a gospel of comfort and reinforcement, and in a world like this such a gospel has its place. But comfort is not reconstruction.

Dr. Jowett's message concerns itself with the permanent elements of religious edification. One looks in vain in his sermons for a dramatic sense of the redemptive purpose in its modern setting. In all its essentials, the subject-matter of his preaching would fit the need of a village community in the days before the railroad; only occasionally does it reflect a feeling of the problems created by the bewildering complexity of modern society. Economists and political thinkers have long recognized that the accepted categories of the nineteenth century have become inadequate to meet the demands of life as it is to-day. Psychology has come out of the laboratory into the street and is busying itself with the problems of social integration. On every hand a new ideology is being created to cover the new facts. Theologians who are free of "the dead hand" are increasingly aware of the radical changes which the new social demand entails in the region of Christian doctrine. But of this deep ferment, Dr. Jowett's utterance hardly shows a trace.

Yet if the pulpit is to have a message for the modern world, it must relate itself to this situation. It is idle to talk of reconstruction without a clear understanding of the facts with which we have to deal. It may be true that human nature is unchanged; but it is equally true that it is functioning in a wholly new setting. Before the redemptive mission of the church can be fully envisaged, it must be seen in the light of the amazing complexity of social relations in our time and the new problems of moral responsibility thus created. Until the preacher himself is aware of the agony of inevadable complicity in social wrong and can touch his hearers with the same compunction, until he sees how organically the problem of personal redemption is bound up with that of social reclamation, he will reconstruct nothing. It is impossible to discern any vital future for the preaching function except in so far as it develops an ethical realism which will trace responsibility and guilt into regions of which our fathers could not conceive because they did not exist in their time. The Church's problem is with the moral tragedy of the world; and the moral tragedy of the world must be seen first as a social fact. We are guilty of each other's sins; and the Gospel which is to save us must save us together.

The task of the future is the creation of "the great community," and the preacher's share in the task is that of liberating and stimulating the moral energy of social cohesion. The materials for this part of the work are already in the New Testament; and he will find them there if on the one hand he will emancipate himself from the individualism of the popular evangelical tradition and on the other become more empirical in his observation of the facts of life. For in the New Testament "the great community" figures as the Kingdom of God, and it is plainly no other than the Kingdom of Man.

Human Nature and Administration

By CHARLES A. BEARD

GRAHAM WALLAS would find abundant material for a new chapter on human nature and politics if he were to make a study of the pending crisis in health administration in New York city. Mayor Hylan "started something" for reasons or motives of his own, and the "holier-than-thou outfit," to use Tammany's contemptuous phrase, reacted with mechanical precision. Then the fight spread to the outermost limits of Donnybrook fair ground. Bacteriology and graft, borough autonomy and experts, the Fusion slush fund and the science of child hygiene are now hopelessly mixed in the columns of the newspapers and, naturally enough, in the public mind. What appeared to be a desire on the part of Mayor Hylan to reduce the overhead costs of health administration by eliminating certain bureau chiefs has led him into a veritable political wonderland and inadvertently opened up some remarkable problems in democracy and administration—not new problems, but ancient ones which, according to German authorities, gave trouble to Cyrus the Great.

Those who will have their politics black and white have, of course, read Mr. Hylan out of court, but those of pragmatic turn of mind are inclined to stop and inquire. On so doing, they will learn a lesson wholesome to efficiency experts and loyal supporters of the war for democracy. Moreover, technical students of health administration and professed experts in the law and practice of public administration will discover many things good for them to know.

To speak more concretely, the medico-political battle now being waged in New York city runs to the root of the great matter of reconciling efficient and expert technical service with the requirements of our very human American democracy. The expert is perforce mechanistic and impersonal. When there is a shade too much benzoate of soda in jam, he condemns the lot without regard for the feelings of the poor jam manufacturer. When he discovers that adenoids must come out, he does not stop to inquire whether the mother of the unhappy youth is a fairly well-educated American woman or an illiterate Bohemian peasant in whose mind a doctor with a lancet is an agent of the devil. Being impersonal, the expert cannot emulate the country doctor who knows everybody by his first name and will undertake to cure anything from earache to erysipelas. He must be remote, engrossed in his specialty, devoted to his narrow profession. This is the way to efficiency.

Politics, on the other hand, especially in New York city, is intensely personal. The local leaders, the election district captain and the Assembly district leaders, are like the country doctor. They know every one in their bailiwick. They give food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, and raiment to the naked. They visit those who are sick and in prison. Their doors swing in for the petty manufacturer who is in danger of bankruptcy because he has trimmed too close to the limits of the Pure Food law and has sold a crate of eggs which the courts in their wisdom had adjudged bad

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on motion of a Health Department inspector. They can carry, if need be, to the seats of the mighty in City Hall the tale of woe from the banana-cart peddler who thinks he is persecuted by some mysterious person with a badge under his coat lapel. Of such is the kingdom of democracy.

The whole process of democratic government, the conflict between science and human nature, is illustrated in the evolution of the Health Department in New York city. It sprang long ago from the ancient practices of abating nuisances and dispensing charity to the sick. To use Herbert Spencer's mighty phrase, it began as an undifferentiated homogeneity and proceeded by segregation and gradation to highly differentiated heterogeneity. As the city grew in size and the science of preventive medicine advanced, the village health officer became impossible. The protection of the milk supply was undertaken. Pure food and drug laws were enacted. Industrial workers were safeguarded. Communicable diseases were specially treated by experts. The improvement of the health of school children was undertaken. Milk stations were established. Responsibility for child hygiene was assumed. Trained medical officers led. Enlightened public opinion followed and supported.

All the while health administration was growing away from geography and the bailiwicks of political leaders and the habitat of the people. Its services became more and more efficient, more and more expert; its scientific accomplishments were registered in the elimination of many epidemics, the reduction of the death-rate, the lowering of infant mortality, and improved conditions in industrial employments. Of this there can be no doubt.

Moreover, it is interesting to note that most of this expert differentiation took place during the Administrations of Tammany Mayors, McClellan and Gaynor, under the leadership of Dr. Darlington and Dr. Lederle, although it is fair to the more distant past to say that beginnings lie far back in the nineteenth century. No little credit is due also to the Bureau of Municipal Research, which entered the field in 1906 and in season and out urged upon health officers the importance of specialization and expert services. At the close of Dr. Lederle's term, the old geographical idea of health administration through "general" officers stationed in the several boroughs of which the city is made up had been practically abandoned. For that time-honored system had been substituted eight central bureaus, each with jurisdiction extending throughout the city, headed by an experienced officer and equipped with a corps of expert inspectors and investigators. Health administration was no longer carried on through borough sanitary officers, but through the Bureau of Administration, the Sanitary Bureau, the Bureau of Records, the Bureau of Child Hygiene, the Bureau of Infectious Diseases, the Bureau of Foods and Drugs, the Bureau of Hospitals, and the Bureau of Laboratories. To these agencies was added another by Dr. Goldwater, in 1914, namely, the Bureau of Public Health Education. This, however, was not a creation, but a renaming of an older division.

The practice of making generous appropriations to these health agencies was inaugurated under Tammany Mayors and continued during the Mitchel Administration. Thus, we may say truly, New York city acquired a model Health Department and through it accomplished results visible to the eye and worthy of being chronicled abroad. Dr. C. E. McCombs, of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, who has visited and surveyed Health Departments from coast to coast, is authority for the statement that medical officers throughout the United States have long looked to New York city for guidance and leadership and are accustomed to cite the achievements of New York in their pleas for more adequate support in their respective localities.

Of the advantages of centralized and functionalized health administration, it is hardly necessary to speak. At the head of each bureau there was placed an expert in that particular line of work, trained in it, with professional enthusiasm for it and professional interest in it. Under each bureau chief was developed a staff of workers and investigators growing steadily in efficiency through the limitation of their operations to one distinct division of health work. It is trite to say that the field of industrial diseases and hazardous employments is so technical that it calls for highly specialized knowledge quite beyond the general practitioner or health officer. And so on throughout the entire list of functional services undertaken by the Health Department.

And yet, when all is said that can be said for expert service, it remains a fact that health administration is a human, not a mechanical, enterprise. The judgments of experts are not infallible, and the subjects of their operations human beings of all sorts and conditions. The republic of health science has no geographical boundaries, but a city is made up of many communities calling for technical consideration of local variations. Science has no locus, but the citizen must reside somewhere. Leaving politics out of account altogether—an impossible thing, of course—administration, to be really efficient, must reckon with localities and human moods.

It has been the failure to do this that had so sadly discredited the efficiency expert in industry. He plunged into the technique of industrial processes and proposed to order Tom, Dick, Harry, and Will about impersonally to accomplish economies in production. The end sought was good and the purpose correct, but the method was impossible. Tom, Dick, Harry, and Will do not like to be ordered about even for their own good. They want to be shown. Such is the essence of democracy. Herein lies our quarrel with Prussia, a deep, undying, righteous American quarrel.

It is to the credit of Mayor Mitchel's Administration that this was recognized in the Health Department, although unfortunately not everywhere in his government. In the first year of his mayoralty, namely, in 1914, an attempt was made to cut across the expert and impersonal services of a highly centralized agency and localize them. Late in that year a new geographical area known as Health District No. 1 was created on the lower East Side of Manhattan "to test the value of local administration of the functions of the Department, especially with a view to prevent overlapping of service," and to develop a "community spirit with respect to health matters in that district." All the specialized functions of the Department in the "district" were directed locally by a health officer, under whose general supervision each bureau of the central office carried on its work within the given area.

The advantages of the experiment are summarized in Chamberlain Bruère's report on "New York City's Administrative Progress—1914–1916," as follows:

(1.) To the inhabitants of a district the activities of the health department become concrete. The district office is recognized as a place to which they can come for guidance in public health matters.

(2.) The entire district staff develops an interest in and a knowledge of the general health of the community surpassing present methods by bureaus.

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(3.) Many inter-bureau affairs can be adjusted directly at the district office without the delay involved in their reference to general headquarters.

(4.) Local direction by a health officer permits distribution of service according to district needs.

(5.) The coöperation between the medical and the nursing service is improved.

(6.) Nurses can satisfactorily perform an all-round health service.

(7.) The nursing staff is elastic; that is, it can be concentrated on infant welfare, schools, infectious diseases, or other service, as conditions or seasons of the year demand.

(8.) Civic organizations and public-spirited individuals are ready to aid in developing a community health programme.

In this enumeration of the advantages of localized health services is to be found, not an indictment of the centralized and functionalized tendencies of the Health Department, but an eloquent description of their limitations. It is interesting to note, however, that this district experiment was undertaken partly, if not largely, on the initiative of Dr. A. E. Shipley, then secretary to the Department of Health and formerly connected with the Bureau of Municipal Research, who entertained some very decided views as to the dangers of the functionalized system. In a memorandum submitted to the city authorities (a copy of which is on file in the records of the Bureau of Municipal Research), Dr. Shipley says:

> Carried to the extreme, functional organizations develop (a) bureaucratic administration, *i. e.*, each bureau tends to emphasize its own interests and forgets its relative position in the general health programme, with consequent lack of team work; (b) overspecialization, both by the development of too many specialties and by magnifying their relative importance; (c) excessive overhead expense due to establishment of too many executive positions in the various bureaus; (d) overlapping of field services which wastes effort that could be utilized more effectively; (e) lack of intimate contact with the people in the various sections of the city.

These principles are all in harmony with the trend of progressive opinion in the science of health administration. Such opinion is illustrated by the extraordinary experiment now being made with the "social unit" plan by Mr. and Mrs. Phillips in Cincinnati. Here, too, we have a reaction against extreme centralization and a conscientious attempt to localize health services and bring them into harmony with the ideals of democratic administration. The Community Clearing House, of 217 East Twenty-second Street, in New York city, represents the same spirit of protest, not against expert service, but against the existence of "a gulf between the plain man and the expert services of his own government."

In other words, the democratic ferment is at work and has permeated administration as well as legislation. In industry far-sighted captains are recognizing the limitation of the card catalogue and efficiency orders. In government citizens are demanding to know who it is that will serve and why. All wise administrators will learn that very soon, if they have not already done so. There is a science of managing cantankerous human beings as well as a science of preventive medicine. When the two are successfully combined, the great problem of public health administration will be solved.

With the Americans: A French Opinion*

Translated by ERNEST HART

I HAVE just visited the Americans in their cantonments and their encampments, upon the long tablelands traversed by practice trenches.

The Germans have dreaded the entry upon the scene of the American army, if only for a single reason—business. Commercially and industrially menaced, they have said to themselves that each and every drop of American blood which they shall have shed will additionally retard the resumption of business relations with the great republic across the Atlantic after peace has been declared. . . .

The German psychology, which has so often been at fault, has never at any time been more gravely so than with respect to the part of America in the war. The Germans imagined, in the first place, that the United States—the richest country in the world and the most profoundly penetrated with ideas of peace—would put up with almost anything rather than herself run the risks of war and lose the immense profits which she had undoubtedly derived from her neutrality. It never occurred to them that the practical spirit of the Americans could not only rise superior to the gross materialism of the Prussians, but that it was dominated and in fact directed by that moral and religious idealism which has so strongly impressed all good observers, such as Bergson or Boutroux, and of which the highest exponent is the farmer of the great agricultural regions of the Middle West—a noble type, to-day the ardent supporter of "a fight to a finish." . . .

I saw yesterday an American unit in which men of very varied origin abounded—French, Polish, Czech, German, English, Canadian—such their names and other facts revealed them. Nevertheless, all were of the same or similar type, a fact due apparently to the combined influences of sun, air, primary education, and environment. But one was not long in discovering that the intelligence of each and all had manifestly a wider outlook than that of the man of single racial lineage and of one country in particular, as is likewise the case with respect to the intelligence of the traveller compared with that of the stay-at-home.

However that may be, the American soldier, as a fact, with a rapidity which surprises his instructors, comprehends what is required of him, as he possesses both the will to learn and the facility to acquire. If I may believe good judges who have observed the Americans, they pick up what they have to learn almost too quickly, and it is necessary at times to persuade them that mastery in performance can be arrived at only by prolonged practice of that which one knows. One of the best writers† on military subjects in the United States, who since the commencement of the present war has been with the Allied armies in the field and has followed the military methods of the English and ourselves, has drawn up a military breviary for the use of the American soldier. He says with excellent judgment, "If you have too much confidence in your own qualities, you will

*Under the heading "Chez les Américains," *Le Figaro* has recently published an article by "Polybe" (Joseph Reinach), describing a visit to an American camp in the war zone. Those parts of the article dealing directly with the writer's impressions of the American troops are here reproduced.

†Frederick Palmer.

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not conquer your weaknesses. The good soldier looks for the weak points in his own armor; he considers without illusions the strength of his enemy. If he does not recognize his own failings, he runs the risk of not carrying off the victory." . . .

The general impression which one derives from a visit to an American camp is that of solidity. Physically the American is a compound of lime and grit. Often there is something of the young lad in the English soldier, even when he is of ripening age. The American soldier is a man even in his first youth. It does not seem, if one observes him, as if the muscles could be tenser, the limbs more supple, the whole frame more hardened by exercise, or that the nerves could be steadier. The framework is certainly stronger than that of the average man; he is like a house the framework of which is iron instead of wood. A uniform complexion almost bronze, with nothing in it of lilies or roses, helps to give an impression of irresistible strength. . . . The net result is, perhaps, a little heavy. It is not in the least like to the supple and elegant English sportsman, of all modern Western types the closest to the champions of the Olympic Games. The American is a Roman, straight and massive like a tower, with an air of gravity which is enhanced by his lean and closely shaven face.

Meticulously careful in his person, the American, like the Englishman, is a tidy creature and a lover of water. He has discovered, like Pindar of generations ago, "Udor, udor ariston!" "Water, water, an excellent thing!" Before they could establish a regular water supply at their camp or cantonment, the Americans brought barrels of water to make up the deficiencies of partly dried-up or exhausted springs and brooks. Not only do they attend to their own quarters and keep them in a condition of irreproachable cleanliness and order, but also they give attention to the villages and communes in which they sojourn. Immediately on arrival, the Americans thoroughly clean up the villages, which charm visitors by their quaint beauty, but fill them with uneasiness because of their lack of cleanliness. One of our most illustrious generals said to me, "You will recognize the presence of Americans in a village by the disappearance of all the heaps of manure from the streets."

The highest command of the American army has among its most constant preoccupations the question of hygiene—always hygiene. There is a frivolous but terrible epigram of Voltaire with reference to the fate which overtook the feather-headed French when they became victims of the scourge of Italy, and what remained to them of their conquests. The Americans admonish, advise, realize, act.

Contributors to this Issue

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Correspondence

Armenia at the Conference of Berlin

This war has brought into prominence the importance of small nations like the Welsh: there is a fine future for their aspirations and ideals.—[From a recent Welsh catalogue of books.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The late Katholikos of the Armenians—Muggurdich Khureemian—who was chosen by the Armenians as their delegate to the Peace Conference of Berlin in 1878, used to relate to his parishioners in the following words the story of his participation in the event:

> We reached Berlin and were immediately ushered into the Conference Hall, where we found a large kettle full of *Keshkek* (a wheat flour porridge with pieces of meat in it) all ready for us. Now all nations had ladles in their hands to help themselves to as much porridge as they desired—with this difference, however, that while the ladles of other nations were made of iron, our Armenian ladle was the only one made of paper. It dissolved in the hot porridge and nothing was left of it.

Joseph de Perott

Worcester, Mass., April 14

Journalistic Leadership

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: On Friday, April 5, the Los Angeles *Times* hailed with a shout the news of the lynching of Robert Prager at Collinsville, Illinois. Under the caption "America Waking Up" the headlines continue, "Illinois German dragged from prison and hanged—Mob resents disloyal remarks and finds recourse in a rope."

By Saturday, April 6, the *Times* has learned that the Government does not encourage this kind of patriotism and the caption is "Life's Seamy Side"—"Mob started in a saloon—Illinois lynchers believed foreign miners—State officers to attend the coroner's inquest."

Thus the Los Angeles *Times* upholds "liberty within law" and vindicates its right to journalistic leadership of public opinion in Southern California. William S. Ament

Claremont, Cal., April 6

Still More Mania

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I note an editorial in the *Nation* of March 14 commenting on the action of our School Board in misunderstanding or misinterpreting the nature of our high-school debates as per curriculum of the Southern California extension division of the University. My fifteen-year-old son, who was a special student of the Polytechnic High School, dared in a letter to criticise the Board's action in barring these debates, and was promptly suspended from school. The superintendent has upheld the suspension. That the boy was considered a desirable student is shown by the positions he has held in the school; yet he is refused a chance to finish his education because he criticised the School Board.

Alice M. Reinhold

Los Angeles, Cal., March 31

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Traditions and Modernities

By O. W. FIRKINS

"Noh." A Study of the Classical Stage of Japan. By Ernest Fenollosa and Ezra Pound. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.75 net.

Sacrifice and Other Plays. By Rabindranath Tagore. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

The Hostage. By Paul Claudel. New Haven: Yale University Press. $1.50 net.

Two Belgian Plays: Mother Nature. Progress. By Gustave Vanzype. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. $1.25 net.

Lights at Dawn. By Aristides E. Phoutrides. Boston: The Stratford Company. $1.25 net.

The Broken Wing. By Sarojini Naidu. New York: John Lane Co. $1.25 net.

Sandhya. By Dhan Gopal Mukerji. San Francisco: Paul Elder & Co. $1 net.

The Closed Door. By Jean de Bosschère. Translated by F. S. Flint. New York: John Lane Co. $1.25 net.

Anthology of Swedish Lyrics. From 1750 to 1915. By Charles Wharton Stork. New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation. $1.50.

IMAGINE a consolidation of Elizabethan masque and Greek tragedy, and you will have a rude picture of the Japanese "Noh" as they appear in the patient scholarship of Ernest Fenollosa and the vibrant and plaintive rendering of Ezra Pound. The court has contributed its privacy, its exclusion, its dependence on potentates; the temple, its piety, its ceremonial, and its ethical intent; and the dance, the great enlivenment of the court and the high solemnity of the temple, is the core and nucleus of the performance. Add a choric accompaniment and a division into five or six invariable dramatic units (*i. e.*, plays) which sketch in their entirety a diagram or pentacle of life. Add, lastly, other elements rare or even unique—the use of ghosts as protagonists, an exclusiveness so pronounced as to breed an hereditary caste of actors, and a tradition so immobile as to have reached, as far back as the seventeenth century, a fixity which insured its duration by the arrest of its life.

The book is partly textbook, partly text, and the specimens are not complete Noh, but select single plays sifted out for their dramatic merits. Mr. Pound clearly dreads the reader's refusal to perceive their drama, and it is safe to say, therefore, that they have not that degree of dramatic force which dispels an editor's anxieties. Their dramatic virtue will doubtless be promptly recognized by the people who find coherence in Chekhov and virtuosity in Brieux, and the name of these people, if not legion, is—cohort. For me the spell of these wavering, quavering dialogues subsists in the lyric modulations of their English. I could wish for Japan's honor—if Japan's honor were a subject on which my tranquillity could be rippled by a wish—that that grace were less akin to the inborn properties of the translator. It is like the rosy wreath which Celia returned to Ben Jonson. Who knows how much of its fragrance is assignable to the rose, and how much to the lips that have breathed upon it in its passage? If Mr. Pound himself be, as has been affirmed, more enjoyable as translator than as writer, the reason is not hard to divine. Mr. Pound sends me, I will suppose, a note in a beautiful but undecipherable hand. If the characters were English, their obscurity would vex me; but if Persian or Arabic, my pleasure in the delicacy of their curves would be unclouded by any regret or remorse at my incapacity to understand. If Mr. Pound wrote in original English, "The fireflies drift away from the jewelled blind," I should ask peevishly, "Why 'jewelled blind'?" But in a Japanese setting I can readily imagine the *existence* of a reason of which I cannot in the least imagine the *nature*.

Diction, then—at least for the purblind Westerner—is the prevalent charm; one play only, "Nishikigi," transcends this restriction, though what it offers is lyric and romantic ardor rather than dramatic force. In the ghost-world are two lovers, unsatisfied in life, whose unquenched longing empurples the dusk of the everlasting night, and is carried forward on earth by the piety of remembering and sympathetic generations. It is a curious thought that in these very translations the memory of that love and pain should have completed its tardy circuit of the globe. In the Western reader's imagination it may commingle, not quite unworthily, with his dreams of Paolo and Francesca and of Tristram and Isolte.*

If this notice of an interesting and valuable book scarcely reaches the dignity of an estimate, the reader will remember that five distinct barriers to criticism—the difficulties of judging the Orient from the Occident, an original through a translation, a whole by a part, a performance by a text, a score by a libretto—increase the task and excuse the infirmities of the critic.

Tagore's dedication of his play, "Sacrifice," "to those heroes who bravely stood for peace when human sacrifice was claimed for the goddess of war," is an act of impressive courage, and appeals to that wilfulness in human nature which finds majorities *as* majorities hateful even should they chance to be correct. The play, however, in which war appears only in symbol or shadow, is a sorry pendant to the dedication. There is no fallacy, because there is no argument, but the militarist himself should be satisfied with the dramatic futility of the busily idle succession of scenes, shrill with quarrel and sibilant with conspiracy, in which the play rummages for the plot it cannot find.

"Malini," a one-act play, contains both ideas and situations, which consume thirty-five ineffectual pages in the vain quest of a rendezvous. "Sanyasi," in three brief scenes, is more successful. The ascetic who has forsaken reality finds a truer life in the renewal of his homage to the real. The sketches of common life in this play surprise us a little by their incisiveness. The cynicisms of a sentimentalist, like the sentiments of a cynic, are often his sanities and perspicacities, and the imponderable Tagore, in seeking the vulgar, attains the human. The highest promise and the worst disappointment in the volume is afforded by the two-act "King and Queen." Here a generous and appealing drama is conceived—is all but worked out—at the end of the first act. But the second act, turning aside to insignificant and uninteresting things, concludes with a *coup de théâtre* the flashiness of which is as incontestable as its brilliancy. One is reminded of that prince in Thackeray's "Esmond" who lost a kingdom in the pursuit of an amour. In all the plays, but particularly in "King and Queen," the felicities of expression are noteworthy.

In English Paul Claudel's "Hostage" is for me neither a

*The attention of the reader may be called to the article by Mr. William Archer on page 513, giving a full description of a Noh performance in London.

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great nor a good play. There are the same barren splendor and futile riches that were noted in Tagore. We have a rich loam or compost of speculative ideas; we have potentially exciting situations. But ideas and situations are each celibate and infertile; the first remain lifeless and the second are mechanical. There are unending duologues, composites of ritual and syllogism, of debate and incantation, in which two contrary sentiments alternate with the deadening monotony of a shuttle or a rocker. Situations which should be theatrical assets—*e. g.*, that in which the heroine marries a hated relative to procure the release of an abducted Pope—put on almost the guise of liabilities in the author's indifferent or unskilful hands. The setting is Napoleonic, and the two main characters, rather choristers than actors, perish together in the equivocal hour in which the restoration of royalty is purchased by the abandonment of kingship.

M. Claudel's thesis, I conjecture, is that loyalty to kings is higher than democracy as chivalry is higher than traffic or an offer is higher than a claim. In a sense, this is quite true. Religion is the highest of human attitudes, and man is the subject of his God. Abstractly, king-worship is magnanimity; the trouble is that in politics the god is only an image, and the cult is, not reverence, but idolatry. A man may be perfectly consistent in preferring ideals to conveniences, and in believing at the same time that a substantial convenience like democracy is preferable to a fallacious ideal like kingship.

The plays of Gustave Vanzype miss—after M. Claudel I could almost write "escape"—the great scale and the high key; crucial problems are handled calmly, almost staidly, in a domestic setting, among characters too kind and sane to find many kinsfolk in the personnel of current drama. The sincerity—at least the evidence of sincerity—is unusual; and the woman's final abandonment of the pedant and trifler who denies her claim to motherhood is accomplished with a rare decorum which largely widens its appeal. The wife does not rend the decencies which she forsakes for an illicit relation, but parts from them tenderly, like a bride from her parents. In revolutionary dramas the character and the act are commonly both reckless; here, as in Fulda's powerful and unappreciated "Sklavin," the character inspires security even while the act begets alarm. It is curious that the failure of radical drama to avail itself of so obvious and striking an advantage should have left M. Vanzype in a position to profit by its novelty.

The second play, "Progress," deals with what Shelley called "the great war between the old and young," in which, in the present instance, the third generation appears in the double rôle of destroyer of the second and avenger of the first. The idea is strong, but the handling is unskilful. In both plays action is the reverse of plentiful.

My lessening space obliges me to practice an uncourteous brevity in the treatment of the remaining volumes on my list. The poems of A. E. Phoutrides are amiable, elegant, and rhythmical; distinction they scarcely reach. Their effect resembles that of an agreeable but irremovable smile. I wish I had left myself time to praise, as they deserve to be praised, the rhythm, the sculpturesque method, and especially the poignant psychology of love in the poems of Sarojini Naidu. In the ecstatic love-poems exultation finds in martyrdom its only adequate expression, as if crimson, by sheer intensification, were converted into sable. I quote six lines:

Hide me in a shrine of roses;
Drown me in a wine of roses
Drawn from every fragrant grove.
Bind me on a pyre of roses,
Burn me in a fire of roses,
Crown me with the rose of Love!

The "Sandhya" of Dhan Gopal Mukerji are the whispers of the Muse. Their grace will propitiate those who can pardon their faintness.

The reader is not stinted in helps for the interpretation of the free verse of the eccentric and sardonic Jean de Bosschère. There is the author's tantalizing French; there is Mr. F. S. Flint's clairvoyant translation; there are the author's fantastic and goblin-like drawings; and there is May Sinclair in a reverential preface. When all is done, the book will remain a "Closed Door" to many persons. Is it the author—or the reader—on whom elucidation is powerless?

In Mr. Stork's "Anthology of Swedish Lyrics" a true sense of metre is impressed into the service of a scholarly zeal. The English of his translations has gained in steadiness and sobriety, and if he is more deft in capturing a felicity than in evading a commonplace, that is part of the immemorial feud between dispatch and nicety. The value of these translations, as of most capable and creditable renderings of lyrics, is documentary, not artistic, and the sketch they furnish of Swedish literature is an itinerary, not a panorama. Lyrics are wont to disappear in translation, because their virtue is aromatic, and it is the property of aromas to exhale. "I kiss the wall's hole, not your lips at all," said Thisbe to Pyramus. The reader feels much the same when Mr. Stork quotes from a volume whose "spirit and glowing color . . . took Sweden by storm" the following stanzas:

No vapid fictions of dream I bring you,
No empty visions for your behoof;
The world of beauty I fain would sing you
My own five senses have put to proof.

Clearly the transfer of lyrics is a ticklish enterprise, or the countrymen of Charles XII are excitable. The instance is extreme, because much of Mr. Stork's verse is musical and spirited. But the gap between *claim* and *evidence* is always so wide as to invite the query whether the claim would not profit by the abstraction of the evidence.

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Lilacs and Rain

By DAVID ROSENTHAL

HE left us on a day
Of lilacs and of rain . . .
And the fern-frail banners
Of the willows
And the feathered-kerchiefs
Of the swallows
Fluttered him farewell,
Down the road
He shall never pass again.
O death,
I know you have taken him—
Him of the berry-blurred mouth
With its sudden gusts of laughter;
Him of the wonder-spun eyes
Trembling like bewildered ponds
Under a shower of moon-sparks;
Him you have stolen, O death!
But you cannot steal April out of my life:
She will still come to my door,
Scarfed in rainbows
And sandalled with miracles of dew,
And she will press to my lips
The flagon of my resurrected dreams;
And lo, I shall behold
The fern-frail banners
Of the willows
And the feathered-kerchiefs
Of the swallows
Greeting him
As he comes marching up the road again
On a day of lilacs and of rain.

BOOKS

Modern Ireland and America

Ireland in the Last Fifty Years (1866–1916). By Ernest Barker. Oxford: University Press. 60 cents.

The Irish Issue in Its American Aspect. By Shane Leslie. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.

THIS informing book of Mr. Barker's on the modern history of Ireland and on Irish conditions in general is for the scholar rather than the general reader, for though well written and not difficult to understand, it is yet the result of very full knowledge and contains an enormous amount of information. Further, it is written objectively and with such fairness and sympathy as to cause one to feel confidence in the author's judgment, as well as to admire his learning.

The scope of the volume is largely the changes for the better in Ireland during the last fifty years—the time during which Great Britain was becoming one of the real democracies. Irish education, the author says, is not disfigured by religious intolerance—certainly on the part of the British authorities. Nor has there been any policy of repression with respect to the Irish language. Since the revival of the use of Erse brought about in the past twenty years by the Gaelic League, the Government has generally encouraged teaching it, until now it finds place in three-eighths of the primary schools of Ireland.

As is well known, the most notable changes have had to do with the holding and ownership of land. The old abuses of the right to the soil have done most to create the deep bitterness of Irishmen for England, which for the latter days both Lecky and Sir Horace Plunkett believe to be founded primarily upon the clearances in the middle of the nineteenth century and the vast emigrations which followed the famine. It would be difficult to praise too highly what the British Government has done to atone for these old wrongs. First there was passed a series of laws fixing rents and protecting the interest of the tenant. This was followed by more notable legislation which enabled the peasants to purchase their holdings by the aid of the state. Two-thirds of the usable soil of Ireland is now in the hands of the old tenants, with the result that there is rising in Ireland one of the most prosperous and independent bodies of peasantry in the world. Along with this, local government has been made thoroughly democratic. As local control was taken from the squirearchy or justices of the peace in England by the legislation of 1888, so ten years later the power of the landlords in Ireland was taken away.

But there remains a grievance even after land purchase and the splendid work of the agricultural coöperative societies have done so much to bring contentment and prosperity, and that is the fact that the central government is not really responsible to Irish public opinion: Ireland is actually governed by the Chief Secretary, responsible to the British Cabinet and the Parliament of the United Kingdom, with the Government from Dublin Castle resting, if need be, upon the Royal Irish Constabulary. The author quotes the opinion of a native writer that the Irish question cannot be got out of the way until the claims of Irish nationality are recognized, which means an Irish Parliament and an Irish executive for the management of Irish affairs. He heartily approves of Home Rule, which he believes is sanctioned by the great mass of Englishmen, for most Englishmen wish Ireland well.

The Rebellion of 1916 was the work of a very small minority—the remnants of the old Fenian party, Sinn Fein, and Irish syndicalism. He thinks, and he may be right, that the Government was unable to pardon those who brought this catastrophe about. There be many critics of great events whose passionate conviction is equalled by meagre experience and simplicity of judgment: such writers readily ascribe the Russian collapse to publication of secret treaties, outline a facile policy of Mexican affairs, or know that the British Government should have pardoned the leaders of the Easter Insurrection as once was done with the Boers. We do not know, but we understand the difficulties sufficiently to feel much less sure. It is true that Sinn Fein, when it had its martyrs, became a far greater power than before; it is also true that the Sinn Fein uprising was made possible largely by the leniency of the period preceding.

The extreme forms of Irish nationalism have looked to Germany of late. The conduct of Germany in the past fifty years is instructive. The Irish question with respect to England has its counterpart in the Polish question in relation to Prussia. While British Parliaments have been undoing the old wrongs with freer education, land purchase, and political freedom, the Poles have been repressed with the *Kulturkampf*, with expropriation, and with the proscription of their language. As Germany with too intense nationalism looks backward, the British Empire with increasing liberalism and democracy looks forward. Within its spa-

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cious bounds there is room for the free development of all its members. So there is not only room for Irish Home Rule, as soon as Irishmen themselves can agree—and, we add, when the great exigencies of the present have been settled—but "there is room for Sinn Fein in the Commonwealth, room enough and to spare, if Sinn Fein will only look around with open eyes. Ourselves, not 'alone,' but in a living union with other free communities." But as we close with these words of the author, we hear, as it were, far away the mighty crash of the combat, as the hosts of Germany threaten the West, and even in the midst of this fearful agony, from the Chamber of the House of Commons come bitter taunts and heartless bickerings of Irish members as they carry on their ancient quarrel.

The volume by Mr. Leslie is informing and brilliantly written. In the past two years several books on the Irish question have been notable for the violence of narrow passion or for strength of their ignorant convictions, but such is not true of this writing, of which the spirit is broad and fair. Most people who read it will learn a great deal that ought to be known. Parts of it are devoted to essays —on John Mitchell, on Parnell, the Redmonds, Sinn Fein, Padraic Pearse, Tom Kettle, Casement, and Carson.

The more important part of the book deals with Ireland in its relations with Great Britain and the United States. "Ireland is the spectre of the British Empire. . . . Towards England she ever looks with anguish and bitterness, towards the United States with tearful hope and wistful affection." In the opinion of the author, the Irish have kept and still keep America and England apart. The ghost of Ireland has sat at the American hearth to rise and wail at the approach of the hereditary enemy whether hostile or friendly. She has been between England and the United States politically as well as in geographical position. Now, in this great moment of change, when alliances are altered and old emotions die down, there comes to the author as to many another the question whether the time has not arrived for reconsidering the relations affecting Ireland, England, and America. Is it not the moment for England to cry peace to her pursuing avenger? Would it not be for the good of all if at last the ghost could be laid? The author hopes, indeed he believes, that the exorcism can be accomplished.

The longest and best chapters are about how the Irish won their place in the United States, and about what has been the attitude of Irish-Americans these last three years. A review is made of American history with reference to their position and influence. The Civil War was fought to its end mainly by Anglo-Saxons, Irishmen, and Germans. This conflict cut deep down into the original stock. While Germans and Irish have been reinforced by later immigration, the Anglo-Saxon has fallen behind, and the Irish, says the author, have gradually forged ahead. Their part in politics has been immense and far-reaching. England has never understood their importance in American life, and made no attempt to win them. And constantly they have stood out against her. Envoy after envoy at Washington has found his work thwarted. "The history of British diplomacy in the United States has been one long struggle against Irish influences in the dark."

For a hundred years England and Germany competed for the winning of the United States. As time went on, England and America, long dwelling in peace, drew slowly together; but there was no close and intimate understanding, never a treaty that might have become an alliance—the Irish saw to that. In the twentieth century came a life-and-death struggle in Europe. At last, with some hesitation, late perhaps, America threw herself into the scales with Great Britain.

During the war the sentiment of Irish-Americans has varied widely. Perhaps at first it was pro-Ally; after the Dublin insurrection it was anti-British; now it is pro-American. There is an able analysis of different elements and shifting emotions. Many will think that the wisest and best thing was said by Mr. Mitchel, lately Mayor of New York, that while he did not blame those who in sincerity were so blinded by prejudice begotten from ages of mistreatment that they could not understand the present situation, "I want to tell them that here is an issue so vital to the world that prejudice must be sunk and all who love liberty must band together."

The author believes that the greatest international asset which Irishmen possess is the good feeling which Americans have for them. To make the most of this, Irish opinion in the United States should be mobile, open to justice, generous, and able to accept the offering of peace. The war has changed England much, and what America is now doing makes American advice heeded as never before. For our own part, we think that justice for Ireland, along with justice for England, is indeed coming now, but that there should be patience till the greater task be achieved.

The How and Why of Evolution

The Origin and Evolution of Life on the Theory of Action, Reaction and Interaction of Energy. By Henry Fairfield Osborn. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $3 net.

THE demonstration of evolution as the ruling order and condition of life upon the earth is perhaps the greatest intellectual achievement of the nineteenth century, and certainly no other discovery or generalization of science has more profoundly modified the thought and life of the modern world. Those who still think of evolution as synonymous with Darwinism will experience a great awakening upon reading Professor Osborn's admirable volume, wherein the riches secured by the steady advance of science in every pertinent field during the past forty years are unfolded in marvellous stores; they will find that the problems of organic evolution are more complex than even Darwin could have supposed, and the author, without any pretence of having solved the major part of them, gives in this work as keen, precise, and judicial an exposition of the whole theme as has yet appeared. Presented originally as the Hale lectures before the National Academy of Sciences at Washington in April, 1916, Professor Osborn's materials have been expanded in the present handsome volume, as noteworthy for its originality and exact scholarship as for the highly interesting drawings, photographs, maps, and tables with which it is richly supplied.

In a brief introduction Professor Osborn propounds certain primary questions regarding the origin and evolution of life upon the earth and states his main thesis or principles in terms of correlated energies as follows:

> In each organism the phenomena of life represent the action, reaction, and interaction of four complexes of physico-chemical energy, namely, those of (1) the Inorganic Environment, (2) the developing Organism (protoplasm and body-chromatin), (3) the Germ or Heredity-chromatin, (4) the Life Environment. Upon the action, reaction, and interaction of potential

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and kinetic energy in each organism Selection is constantly operating wherever there is competition with the corresponding actions, reactions, and interactions of the organism.

This central theme is expanded in the eight following chapters, three of which deal with The Preparation of the Earth for Life, The Sun and the Physicochemical Origin of Life, and the Energy Evolution of Bacteria, Algæ, and Plants; the five concluding sections are devoted to the evolution of the animal world, and are followed by an appendix, bibliography, and index.

The reader is candidly warned that the principle, as quoted above,

involves several unknown principles, and especially the largely hypothetical question whether there is a relation between the action, reaction, and interaction of the internal energies of the germ or heredity-chromatin with the external energies of the inorganic environment. In other words, while this is a principle which largely governs the Organism, it remains to be discovered whether it also governs the causes of the Evolution of the Germ.

The general law of evolution implies that the present is the child of the past and the father of the future; it also implies change, but not necessarily progress; while the law now commands well-nigh universal assent, the causes of evolution, as the author frequently reminds us, are still a fruitful subject of dispute; we know, he says, *how* plants, animals, and man have evolved, but *why* they evolve is a question to which no satisfactory solution has yet been found; we know that there has been an unbroken chain from monad to man, that a one-toed horse had a four-toed ancestor, that man has descended from an unknown ape-like progenitor which probably arose in the Tertiary period; many details of the transformations are precisely known, but of the internal causes of change we are totally ignorant. Why, asks Professor Osborn, has the long search for the causes of evolution so signally failed? Because, he answers, investigators trained in the school of the naturalist and beginning their studies with color and form have been obliged to reason backwards from such highly organized conditions to their causes; such methods, he thinks, should be reversed and the problem of causes directly attacked from the standpoint of the chemist and physicist.

While Darwin's theory of selection has lost much of its prestige, all must admit that in the long run only the fittest survive; yet we are reminded that the survival and the origin of fitness are very different phenomena, and since it is in the germ plasm or heredity-chromatin that the evolution of the predisposition to form and function takes place, the essential problem lies in the cause of germinal evolution. It is therefore time, thinks the author, to hitch the horse in front of the cart and to turn from the studies of form to those of living energy, to think forward from energy into matter and form; energy, we are told, is the chief end of life, and the first efforts of every organism are directed towards the capture, storage, and release of this prime requisite.

In his search for the earliest "episodes" of life, Professor Osborn finds that four great complexes of energy, as noticed above, are successively acquired and combined; accordingly, there have been four evolutions of energy in the organic world, and the problem of causes is to ascertain how these four processes have been adjusted to one another.

One may be a true evolutionist, with respect to the origin and development of life, says the author, without being either a mechanist or a materialist. The impression conveyed by the cosmos is that of limitless and ordered energy, and life would seem to be rather a continuation of this order than an exception to the rest of nature; but nevertheless, living matter does not appear to follow the old evolutionary course, but represents a new assemblage of energies as well as new types of action, reaction, and interaction between the elements which may be as old as the cosmos itself.

Life arose, to summarize briefly some of the author's conclusions, as the result of law, and not by chance, in the moist earth or fresh water, not in the open sea, and from cosmic matter in a colloidal state, a condition peculiarly favorable to the free interchange of physicochemical energies; every organism, it is noticed, is in a sense a container filled with a watery solution in which various kinds of colloids are suspended. There was a gradual attraction and grouping of the ten chief life elements followed by the incorporation of the nineteen chemical substances which were later added. Adaptive response, a prime characteristic of the living organism, was in all probability but a continuation of the previous cosmic order, though proof is now lacking. Great stress is laid on the principle of interaction, the physicochemical product of action and reaction; through interaction and its agents, known as chemical messengers, such as acids, enzymes, antitoxins, and the internal secretions called hormones and chalones, new reactions are produced, while the normal activities are accelerated or retarded, and the organism, controlled from within and protected from invasion from without, is bound into one harmonious unit.

The highly interesting concluding chapters of Professor Osborn's work deal with the evolution of the invertebrates and vertebrates, much attention being paid to character evolution and the laws of adaptation. It is in these sections that the most telling illustrations have been gathered. A thrilling, if not romantic, history was that of the dinosaurs which arose in Permian time from a common reptilian stock that included birds, crocodiles, and pterosaurs; in the upper Triassic period they dominated the entire animal world and branched out into five great divisions, which included giant herbivorous sauropods, huge bird-footed, carnivorous, upright walking dinosaurs, which preyed upon the latter, toothless bird-like forms with the speed and build of an ostrich, beaked or "duck-bill" dinosaurs, and, related to these, slow-moving herbivorous creatures provided with horns and a heavy armor; their evolution, estimated to have involved a period of twelve million years, was only to score a failure at last when all became extinct at the close of Cretaceous time. The "King" of the tyrant saurians, *Tyrannosaurus rex*, in respect to speed, size, power, and ferocity the most destructive life engine which has ever evolved, had to give way to animals with weaker bodies but sharper wits, its own brain, which weighed under a pound, having been less than one four-thousandth of its estimated total body weight.

In conclusion Professor Osborn remarks that "it is incumbent upon us to discover the *cause* of the orderly origin of every single character. The nature of such a law we cannot even dream of at present, for the *causes* of the majority of vertebrate adaptations remain wholly unknown"; nevertheless, he believes that at least one element of the problem of life will be eventually solved, namely, the final determination of the precise question whether life is "solely physicochemical in its energies, or whether it includes a *plus* energy or element which may have distinguished *life* from the beginning."

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Gorky's Russia and Russia's Gorky

In the World. By Maxim Gorky. Translated by Gertrude M. Fookes. New York: The Century Co. $2 net.

IF Tolstoy was the "great writer of the Russian land," Gorky is quite as truly the great writer of the Russian mud. "In the World," the second volume of his autobiography, continues the story and the atmosphere of "My Childhood." The division between the two books is purely external, for at the close of the present volume the narrator is but a lad of fifteen, and during considerable portions of it he is still lodging with his grandfather and grandmother. Everywhere that he lived the observant, impressionable boy found quarrelling, cruelty, and obscenity. One feels that this was not owing merely to his external environment; had he lived among men and women far less coarse and rough the lad's keen but warped intellect would still have been impressed most of all by quarrelling, cruelty, and obscenity, though of a different type, and he would have revolted against them with the same dreamy fervor. Life lay on his spirit like a suffocating vapor, through which he had glimpses of sunlight, brief whiffs of fragrance.

Parting from his beloved grandmother, young Pyeshkov ("Gorky") was apprentice in a shoe store, boy of all work with some kinsmen, architects and contractors, scullion on two Volga steamboats, drudge in a workshop of image-painters—at intervals returning to his grandmother. The power of his narrative is in its series of portraits: of the powerful cook Smouri, "large, heavy, solitary," brutal at times, but "kind, lonely, cut off from the lives of other people"; of the enigmatic old carpenter Osip, clever and treacherous, yet with a vein of sympathy in his nature; of the expert mason Ardalon, proud of his skill and working "for the glory of God," but nevertheless suddenly sinking into the bottomless mire of drunkenness and debauchery; of "Queen Margot," loveliest and kindliest of women in the boy's eyes, whose sensuality he nevertheless lets us glimpse behind the enchantment of her benignant beauty. The wonderful old grandmother remains the same as before, the embodiment of much-enduring kindliness. Some charming pages tell of her rambles with the lad in the woods, where she gathers herbs and he snares singing birds.

But the chief portrait is that of Gorky himself, the affectionate, imaginative boy, who was already incoherently striving to shape for himself a philosophy of life out of the most discordant materials. He was aided by the world of books, in which he passionately sought relief from the harsh tedium of his outward existence.

> I did not drink vodka, and I had nothing to do with girls; books took the place of these two forms of intoxication for me. But the more I read the harder it was for me to go on living the empty, unnecessary life that most people lived.

He already felt within him the talent that would one day enable him to set down with such rare power his impressions of that "empty, unnecessary life." Books soon made him a person of consequence in the world; the sordid image-painters valued his skill as a teller of tales and made him respect his own talent. And their joy in his boyish art is one of the rays of sunshine that make their own existence interesting and appealing to ourselves.

The chaos of "In the World" reminds one involuntarily of the chaos in Russia at the present day. And—the reflection is perhaps too obvious and childish for record—one wonders whether the Russian nation, like its proletarian spokesman Gorky, may not triumph over circumstances and prove to the world at least its aspirations for a clean existence, in which all men may be truly free and sanely happy.

Literary Youth in Age

ANOTHER cherished American institution has yielded to the spirit of change that rules in the world of letters no less than in the world of grosser things. The announcement is made that *Littell's Living Age*, belying its name, has just passed under the control of the Atlantic Monthly Company. Thus this sturdy patriarch of weekly journalism at the age of threescore and fourteen—Eliakim Littell began the *Living Age* in Boston in 1844—succumbs to the younger generation knocking at the gate; for the *Atlantic*, founded in 1857, is still a mere stripling of sixty-one.

The passing of the *Living Age* takes the memory back to its birth in the beginnings of our magazine literature, when *Harper's*, the *Century*, *Scribner's*, and the *Atlantic* still dwelt in the realm of unborn children. The English periodicals, then superior to their little country cousins across the Atlantic, were eagerly imitated and literally copied. Of the scores of weeklies, monthlies, and quarterlies that reprinted English material in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, only *Littell's Living Age* has survived into the twentieth century to supply its readers with a share of the best British thought in letters, the arts, politics, and science.

It is amusing, in lingering over the old volumes, to catch quaint glimpses of old Eliakim's difficulties as a publisher, forerunners of those that trouble his harried successors to-day. He protests vigorously to the Government against the excessive postal rates; he laments apologetically to his readers the irregularities in the arrival of steamers and the consequent delays in presenting his latest material; he even insists sturdily on an uncensored press, though this action meant that his American public must swallow unkind references in the British reviews and uncomplimentary criticism from English authors who suffered more then than now from a certain condescension.

In that distant past there are references to the "downtrodden working classes," and to Mexican troubles so like the present that we rub our eyes to remember 'tis seventy years since; and when we read that "The Polka Dance is as much the rage in England as the Waltz was on its introduction here," we realize that our grandfathers, though born too soon for the chaste beauties of our one-step, had their compensations. What visions of another world, too, the *Living Age* opened up to its young readers, whether browsing in dusty library alcoves in far-away California or in orderly New England homes, when their dreams leaped across the waters and they began the imaginary "grand tour," for which every good young American used to plan and save.

Like Cicero's studies, *Littell's Living Age* in many homes was the food of youth and the solace of age. Now in its own old age, like many a respectable citizen who grows broader with the years, it is going to spread its wings wide and become cosmopolitan; for the new publishers announce that it "will include not only contributions to British journals, but those of France and other countries as well." So, with

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this country, the *Living Age* is venturing forth to enter into entangling foreign alliances. If it includes the best from French, Spanish, Italian, German, and Russian periodicals, may its 10,000 subscribers multiply tenfold, and its first number of 1918, like that of 1844, require three editions! May it be fortunate enough, in its renaissance, to combine with the serene dignity of its age the brave liberalism of youth! M. C. D.

Notes

THE May publications of G. P. Putnam's Sons include the following: "The Smiting of the Rock—A Tale of Oregon," by Palmer Bend; "Danny the Detective," by V. C. Barclay; "A Girl Alone," by Horvel Evans; "Greatheart," by Ethel M. Dell. The Putnams, acting as the American representatives of the Cambridge University Press, announce the publication of the following volumes: "Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion," compiled by E. G. Browne and Sir Thomas Adams; "The Book of Joshua," revised version, introduction and notes by G. A. Cooke.

Among J. B. Lippincott's spring list are the following: "The Submarine in War and Peace," by Simon Lake; "The Threshold of War," by Nevil Monroe Hopkins; "The Virgin Islands," by Theodor de Booy and Dr. Faris.

The Century Company announces for publication shortly "Russia in Upheaval," by Edward Alsworth Ross.

In the near future Boni & Liveright will publish "The Unbroken Tradition," by Nora Connolly, and "The Path on the Rainbow," poems, selected by George Cronyn.

IN "Le Morte Darthur of Sir Thomas Malory and its Sources" (Dutton; $3.50 net) Prof. Vida D. Scudder has produced a book of opulent charm. As a literary introduction to the world of Arthurian romance, the thing could hardly have been done with greater fineness and grace. Let no one be dismayed by the word "sources"; the work is innocent of parallel passages. The sources are discussed chiefly, as in Part I, by way of necessary introduction to the subject, or, as in Part III, in order to show Malory's superiority to them in architectonic power. The thesis of Part II, urged with patient and delicate literary discernment, is that Malory's composition is throughout an organic and coherent work of art, that he consciously selects his material with a view to telling "the story of the rise and fall of chivalry, with its three loyalties, to the overlord, to the lady, and to God." Few students of Malory will agree with Miss Scudder that it is all quite so like a Wagner opera as she makes it out to be: Prologue, Pageant of Romantic Love, Pageant of the Grail, with the motive of the feud between Gawain and his house and that of Pellenore pointing constantly forward to the inevitable catastrophe. Unity of a sort Malory's work undoubtedly has, in spite of some very obvious joinery, but it is a unity of inclusiveness, born of the mediæval desire to treat a subject encyclopædically, to view man in all his relations. Chief among these will naturally be war and love and religion. How far Malory is responsible for the wide sweep of his canvas cannot, of course, be told in our present ignorance of the form in which his material came to him. But whoever put it all together we may be sure was working in the old mediæval tradition; it is not at all necessary to conjecture that the "new spirit [of the Renascence] may well have helped him to marshal his material with a new feeling for sequence." The Middle Ages has literary sins enough to answer for; it is certainly entitled to the credit for whatever structural excellence the "Morte Darthur" exhibits. Meanwhile, it may be fairly said that no reader of Malory but will find his appreciation of the text enriched after following Miss Scudder's keen and sympathetic analysis of it.

THE early Renaissance in Italy from Cimabue to the Poilaiuoli is treated in Volume II of James Ward's "History and Methods of Ancient and Modern Painting" (Dutton; $3.50 net). It will have its use as a reference book, giving in brief the main results of modern connoisseurship, but it makes wofully dry reading, and the amount of information it affords as to the "methods" of the Renaissance painters is much less than the title leads one to hope for. For the style let the following extract speak:

> Spinello was essentially a fresco painter, his best work being executed in this medium, and in every instance was superior to his panel pictures. His methods of execution show that he must have worked in a swift and direct manner, which successful painting in fresco calls for; but these methods, in his case, when applied to his panel pictures, did not lend themselves to the achievement of the same measure of success, where more care and labour would be necessary to produce a workmanlike finish.

Really, a person capable of writing like this, or his publishers, should hire some competent reporter or school-teacher to revise his work.

A BIRD book that brings new pleasure is Alice E. Ball's "A Year with the Birds" (Dodd, Mead; $3 net). Beginning with our winter neighbors, she runs through the seasons till the fall migrants have gone, with a series of verses descriptive of the more familiar birds. Some of the poems are old favorites by well-known writers, but most of them are from Miss Ball's pen. By memorizing these simple lines a child would have ready at hand a store of accurate and suggestive information about the habits and tastes of the new acquaintances he might be making. The abundant colored illustrations are particularly interesting. They are the work of Robert Bruce Horsfall, whose backgrounds of the habitat groups at the Museum of Natural History in New York have transformed the museum study of birds from dull taxidermy to living delight.

THE layman appreciates a square deal from the scientist. Dr. Frank E. Lutz, of the American Museum of Natural History, has undertaken to answer many of the questions asked by the eager untrained inquirer (with whom he has frequent contact) by publishing an introductory "Field Book of Insects" (Putnam; $2.50 net). In the introduction is much useful general information for the beginner, and the 800 illustrations, in connection with the readable text, should do much to promote enthusiasm in the study of the 15,000 species of insects to be met in the vicinity of New York. A full entomological index and a shorter one of habitats and plants round out the compact little volume.

"CHILD Welfare in Oklahoma" is a title that introduces rather a national than a local topic. The report of an investigation made by the National Child Labor Committee (75 cents) under the direction of Edward N. Clopper marks the most recent development in the new movement towards the standardization of the laws relating to

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child welfare, such as already exists in the English code of laws for children and in our own penal code. Four States have taken legislative action in the formation of children's codes, but the result has been somewhat discrepant on account of their neglect to precede their action by a State-wide study of existing conditions. The Oklahoma report, on the other hand, affords a sound basis for future recommendations and legislation. The individual reports contained in it throw light on the local questions of health work, education, agriculture, poor relief, juvenile delinquency, and probation; and their findings are not applicable solely to Oklahoma. But their real value is the proof they afford of the interrelation and interdependence of these questions.

Fashion Notes

By H. M. KINGERY

NATURALLY the influence of the war will be felt this year. Fewer German and more French phrases will be seen, especially in the writings of those who know no language but English, and that not very well. Our old friend *chic* (suggesting, as commonly uttered, a young fowl) will be much in evidence. A new word much affected is *camouflage*, generally mispronounced and misunderstood. On the whole, there will be a heavier draft than usual on the italic case. In plain English the old favorite "crisp new bill," unknown to most of us in real life, will have its usual run. No one in this year's fiction will be interested or fascinated, but always "intrigued." There will be the regular quota of "virile" women—the kind no man would ever care—or dare?—to marry. Another favorite is "virginal." Through one short story some time ago ran a regular refrain describing the heroine as "tall, white, virginal." *Obsess* and *obsession* will continue to be prime favorites. No composition on any theme will be complete without at least one occurrence of one or the other. If the English Bible were to be retranslated now, no one in it would be *possessed*, but always *obsessed* of the devil. No writer who cares for good form will permit any character to *say* anything this year. He may murmur, whisper, wheeze, husk, compliment, equivocate, sparkle—do anything but say. An occasional old-fashioned writer in the *Atlantic*, *Harper*, *Century*, or *Scribner* may fail to observe this decree, but in the cheap weeklies and the ten (now fifteen) cent monthlies the correct style will always be followed.

As it is often impossible to decide from the shape of a woman's hat whether she is coming or going, so will sentence inversion with omission of the expletives *it* and *there* be all the rage. "Passed the years and began to appear the gray hairs," "Came a day when——," "Followed some moments of fearsome suspense," "Remains then to compose the greatest song of all," are among the approved forms.

As to content, the predominant notes will be war and love. The young officer or private who routs armies single-handed and outwits the shrewdest diplomats offhand, finally marrying either his nurse or the heiress of the most aristocratic family in France, will share honors with the youth who comes from the farm to the city and within a week or so earns the fortune demanded by his rich employer's daughter as the price of her hand. Of heroines the nurse or the infallibly omniscient spy will vie with the débutante. No "slackers" these—they will be sure to "do their bit." It promises to be a great year.

The Passing of the Actor-Manager

By WILLIAM ARCHER

THE death of Sir George Alexander, following so close upon that of Sir Herbert Tree, brings vividly home to us a fact of which we have been vaguely aware for some time—namely, that the period of the actor-managers is coming to an end, and that we are well over the threshold of a new period, in which another form of organization is evidently destined to prevail. Before considering the implications of this change, however, let us cast a glance over the career of the notable man who has just left us.

Alexander was a graduate of the Lyceum school. Any one who saw Henry Irving during his American tours of 1884 and 1887 saw Alexander playing seconds to "the chief." He was not, however, one of Irving's inveterate imitators. One might almost have said that he had entirely escaped the Irving hall-mark; but that would have been a false impression, founded on the fact that he so often played modern parts which gave no room for the development of Irving mannerisms. The very last part in which I saw him (the last part, I think, that he played) was that of a French Marquis in the Reign of Terror; and in this I remember thinking that Henry Irving had come to life again—the resemblance was almost uncanny. He was certainly not a great but a very sound and accomplished actor. To say that he was never quite inadequate to his task is to say that he had the good sense never to attempt anything beyond his range. His faults were a tendency to grimace when he tried to express passion, and a tendency to preach in those *raisonneur* parts which so often fell to his lot. But to call him a bad actor (as it was at one time the fashion to do among the superfine) was absurdly unjust. He was graceful, polished, intelligent, thoroughly capable; and if he was not a genius, neither did he give himself the airs of one.

It was as a manager that he made his mark in theatrical history. No one played a greater part than he in the upward movement of the eighteen-nineties. To his insight and his courage the stage of that day owed an immense debt. He entered upon management in 1890 at the Avenue Theatre (now the Playhouse), where he opened with a commonplace French farce. This he followed up with a sentimental comedy named "Sunlight and Shadow," by R. C. Carton, the great success of which enabled him to remove to the St. James's, with which his name will always be inseparably associated. Here, in 1892, he produced Oscar Wilde's first play, "Lady Windermere's Fan"; here, in the following season, he carried the modern English drama a long stride in advance by producing "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray." To the present generation, accustomed to very much stronger meat, it may seem that it needed no great "insight and courage" to put this neurotic demi-mondaine on the stage; but to reason so is to ignore the penury and pusillanimity of the mid-Victorian period. It is a plain matter of history that with "Mrs. Tanqueray" the English drama bade good-by to mid-Victorianism; and Alexander shares with Pinero the credit of having taken the great plunge. Not, indeed, without misgiving: the plan of producing the play at an "experimental matinée" was long discussed; but bolder and wiser counsels prevailed, and the suc-

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cess was instantaneous. Two seasons later came "The Importance of Being Earnest." How well I remember the appearance of Oscar Wilde before the curtain, big, beaming, imperturbably self-complacent, a lighted cigarette between his white-gloved fingers! His awful tragedy came a few weeks later, and he must have known then that the hounds of fate were on his traces; but he was possessed by the audacity of madness.

To many notable dramatists George Alexander gave their first hearing of any importance: for instance, to John Oliver Hobbes (Mrs. Craigie), whose "Ambassador" was one of his successes; to Henry James, whose "Guy Domville" was his most conspicuous failure; and to H. V. Esmond, who has scarcely fulfilled the promise he gave in several plays which Alexander produced. He it was who tempted Stephen Phillips to become a dramatist by commissioning him to write a play on the subject of "Paolo and Francesca"; but he did not actually produce the play until some time after Beerbohm Tree had produced Phillips's second effort, "Herod." Much of Sir Arthur Pinero's best work was done for the St. James's. It was here that "The Princess and the Butterfly," "His House in Order," "The Thunderbolt," and "Mid-Channel" first saw the light. To Mr. Sutro, too, Alexander gave frequent hospitality. Even his less distinguished productions, such as "The Prisoner of Zenda" and the German "Old Heidelberg," were always more or less creditable. And though he had a few undoubted failures, fortune, on the whole, followed him faithfully. He told me himself that the season 1914–15—before we had adapted ourselves to war conditions—was the first in a quarter of a century on which he had actually lost money.

And now, as I said above, the actor-manager of Alexander's type has practically passed away. There were, of course, actor-managers, such as Garrick himself, in the days of the Patent Theatres; but the whole system was then so utterly different that they scarcely come into the comparison. The modern dynasty may be said to have begun with Macready, after whom came Charles Kean, Henry Irving, Squire Bancroft, John Hare, the Kendals, Wilson Barrett, Forbes Robertson, Beerbohm Tree, and Alexander. The system, like most systems, had its merits and its demerits. It is obvious that a manager who runs a theatre on his own personal popularity—who is, in a word, his own star—is thereby restricted in his choice of plays, and is not likely to offer the members of his company any first-rate chances of developing their talents. These and other subsidiary evils were so present to the minds of most of us that it was quite a surprise to me, when I visited America in 1899, to find critics and intelligent playgoers in New York actually envying us our actor-manager system. It seemed to them infinitely preferable to the big impresario and syndicate system which prevailed in America and had made Charles Frohman the Napoleon of the stage. Well, I shall not attempt here and now to strike a balance between the two systems, but shall merely say that the big impresario is now the dominant figure in London theatrical life. We have our Alfred Butt, our Grossmith and Laurillard, our Charles Cochrane, and we have no successor to George Alexander or Beerbohm Tree. Even stars of some magnitude, like Mr. Gerald Du Maurier or Miss Gladys Cooper, when they go into management, do so under the wing, so to speak, of a big impresario. The effects of this change are very hard to predict, especially while the war is creating utterly abnormal theatrical conditions. But one plain moral, it seems to me, is that, after the war, a great effort must be made to establish in London at least one real Repertory Theatre.

For the benefit of the free-lance companies who are at present, I understand, such an interesting feature in the theatrical life of New York, I may call attention to two curious little plays which have recently been produced at the Court Theatre, the scene of many artistic experiments. It was taken for a week by two ladies, Miss Elsie Fogarty and Miss Ruby Ginner, who produced in that time no fewer than nine short acts of various descriptions. Most of them were negligible, but those I am about to mention stood out from the rest.

The first was a version in dramatic form of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's ballad "Rose Mary." Preserving in great part the language and measure of the original, it told, in a series of really impressive scenes, that weird story of love, treachtry, and witchcraft, or, as we should now say, clairvoyance. It was a good deal marred, to my thinking, by the interpolated antics of a number of dancers, supposed to impersonate the Spirits of the Beryl; but these interludes could easily be omitted. That done, the little play would certainly bring to the footlights a great deal of the romantic atmosphere of the Scotch border ballads. It pleased me the more, perhaps, inasmuch as I am an enthusiast for the revival of rhyme on the stage.

Very different (and yet in its essence not so unlike) was the second play: "The Sumida River," announced in the programme as "an Episode in the No Manner." No further information was vouchsafed regarding it; and what the majority of the audience understood by "the No Manner" is a problem which baffles conjecture. I myself happened to hold the key to it, for one of the most interesting theatrical experiences of my life was a long afternoon spent at a "No" theatre in Tokio, where I saw several of the "utai" or "No-Plays." These short, semi-religious (Buddhist) ballads-in-action are unquestionably the oldest form of dramatic art at present extant in the world—extant, that is to say, in the very shape in which it originally came into being. Most, if not all, of the No-Plays date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They are acted to-day on stages reproducing in every dimension and detail the stages on which they were first produced, and every intonation and gesture is stereotyped in accordance with an unbroken tradition. It would take too long to describe the No stage: let me only say that the moment I entered the theatre I gripped my companion by the arm and said, "An Elizabethan playhouse, by all that's wonderful!" It is even less developed, however, than the Elizabethan stage; for there is no Upper Stage or Rear Stage, and the only method of entrance is by a bridge at the back, left, which I believe to be the progenitor of the famous "Flowery Path" of the modern Japanese playhouse. On these archaic stages the equally archaic, hieratic, intensely conventional playlets are solemnly performed before no less solemn audiences, many of whom devoutly follow every line of the text in the large volumes in which the whole literature is collected. It is an infallible sign of aristocratic culture to be an enthusiast for the "No."

On the stage of the Court Theatre, then, a miniature "No" stage had been constructed with very tolerable accuracy, and on it was performed "Sumidagawa"—"The Sumida River"—one of the most famous of the series. The translation was by Dr. Marie Stopes, an eminent botanist, who, on a visit to Japan, fell a victim to the glamour of the

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"No." In the introduction to her interesting set of three translations, she declares that

> In Japanese they have the power to make the spirit soar into the borders of the enchanted region of romance; and when acted the plays make one ache with *Weltschmerz* in a way that shows that their place is among the great things of our world, elemental in their simplicity.

After a good deal of study with such aids as are accessible to one who knows no Japanese, I am strongly of opinion that this eulogy is very excessive; and the performance at the Court Theatre left that opinion unaltered. The most beautiful thing about "The Sumida River," it seems to me, is its name (accent, please, on the first syllable). It tells how a half-mad mother whose child has been kidnapped sets out in search of it and comes to a ferry on the river. The ferryman tells how a child answering to the description of the lost one has recently died, and shows the mother its tomb. Then every one, Chorus included (for there is always a Chorus squatted immovably at one side of the "No" stage), joins in a hymn of praise to the Eternal Buddha—and that is all. The performance, if not strictly Japanese, at all events succeeded in being entirely unlike any conceivable human action—which is the main point. Dr. Stopes herself says:

> In the "singing" of the *utai*, not only is every minute inflection of the voice prescribed and regulated according to the severest rules, but every movement of the body, every step and movement even of the toes and little fingers in the "dance" that accompanies it, is most strictly governed by an iron tradition, and the secret of some of the parts is only in the hands of a few masters.

This petrified art is a dramatic curiosity of the first order; but I cannot help thinking that only by a violent effort of will can any non-Japanese extract æsthetic enjoyment from it. The themes of some of the playlets are romantic and beautiful, but the style of all of them, so far as I can make out, is intolerably artificial, contorted, and euphuistic.

Finally, to those whom it may concern, I may mention that this series of performances at the Court included a little "mime play," entitled "Et puis bonsoir," which was simply the most delightful thing of its kind I ever saw. The singularly taciturn programme gave no clue as to its provenance, but it would seem to be of French origin. The scene is in the coulisses of a theatre, where Pierrette is prima ballerina. Pierrot makes love to her and is graciously received; but then comes along Harlequin with a necklace of pearls, and poor Pierrot returns to find her in the arms of his rival. They fight a duel; Pierrot is killed, and Pierrette dances off with his slayer. That is the whole story, but it is told with a grace and piquancy that are beyond praise. It seems to me better than "L'Enfant Prodigue" inasmuch as it is shorter—a great merit in wordless plays.

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Finance

War-Time Markets

IT has lately been a frequent comment in the financial community that the action of the markets in the face of the German drive will stand out historically as one of the most remarkable instances of prescience in Stock Exchange history. During the most colossal military attack of this or any other war, when the armies of the Allies were slowly but steadily giving ground before the massive assaults of the foe, after Field-Marshal Haig had announced that "Our backs are to the wall," and still the British army retired, the New York stock market was at no time demoralized. Its most extreme decline came a few days after the opening of the drive, and then a gradual recovery set in, in spite of the fact that German territorial gains continued, and that the Allies had attempted no counter-stroke.

United States Steel common stock, the leader of the market in both activity and movement, closed on March 20, the day before the drive began, and before any definite suspicion of it, at 91⅛. On March 26 it had fallen to 86½, but on the afternoon of Wednesday of last week, nearly a month after the offensive had commenced, while gains were still continuing, United States Steel closed at 91¾, or above the price before the drive had started. The average price of fifty stocks, twenty-five railroad and twenty-five industrial, which, on March 20, had closed at 68.37, closed on Wednesday of last week at 67.02. The turn of events since then has brought United States Steel as high as 96⅜, and the average of the fifty stocks to 69.19.

It is to some extent a moot question just to what extent the firmness in the stock market has been the result of the market's interpretation of the military news, and to what extent the result of other factors. Our own Liberty Loan campaign and the stock market's powerful "technical condition" have been pointed to as important influences, but the movements on the stock market of London bore a remarkable similarity to the New York market. Of the anxious week which followed the beginning of the Hindenburg offensive, a London market review commented: "Pressure did not materialize, while, on the other hand, a few bargain-hunters put in an appearance, anxious to pick up stock if it should come in really cheaply."

The British Government 5 per cent. bonds at 93⅝ at the opening of the battle declined only to 93⅜ in the first week of fighting, and were quoted on Thursday of last week at 94⅜. The 4½ per cent. bonds declined from 100¾ to 100½, and were up to 100⅞ on Thursday. Our own 4 per cent. Liberty bonds, which had closed at 96.66, closed on Wednesday a week ago, before the foe had been brought to a halt, at 96.20, but the 3½ per cents, which on March 20 had been 98, were 98.92 on that day.

The fluctuations of Government bonds, speaking generally, are more frequently apt to give a direct interpretation of military news than the action of stock markets, for the latter reflect conflicting influences. The United States coupon 6 per cent. bonds of 1881 were put out in February, 1861, at 93¼. In April, when the Fort Sumter incident precipitated war, they fell to 84½. From then until the end of the year they fluctuated between 83 and 95¾. In 1862 there was a slow improvement, starting from 87½ in January and rising to 107½ in June. That half of the

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year had been filled with Federal victories. But fortunes turned somewhat after that. McClellan was stopped before Richmond in July; the 6s fell to 96½. Despite Federal reverses during the remainder of the year, the 6s during the period were firm, and closed a few points above par.

At the beginning of 1863, after Lincoln had proclaimed the abolition of slavery in the Southern States, the bonds fell to 91¾; but again an improvement set in, and despite Lee's victory over Hooker at Chancellorsville in May, and his crossing of the Potomac and invasion of Pennsylvania in June, the bonds steadily rose. In May they touched 108¾, the highest point since the beginning of the war. The crisis of the conflict had come. At the end of June, Gettysburg was fought, Lee was driven back, and the bonds went to 110. But what is interesting for us is that they never faltered in the most anxious period. Grant was invested with the chief command of the armies of the United States in March, and in April the bonds reached 118. They reacted for a time, and fell as low as 102, but in December, when Sherman occupied Savannah, were back to 118. Those were the two high points of the war. When Lee actually surrendered in April, and the war came to an end, the range of 6s was between 105 and 110⅜.

British consols reached their lowest point, 47¼, in 1798, when England was engaged in a war against Napoleon, and the great rebellion broke out in Ireland. In 1802 there was a sharp recovery to 79, on the conclusion of the peace of Amiens with France, but on the renewal of the war, in 1803, the bonds fell to 50¼. Yet it is significant that in 1805, when Napoleon won his greatest victory, at Austerlitz, consols fluctuated only between 57 and 62 during the entire year, while in 1806 and 1807, after Jena, the entrance into Berlin, and the Treaty of Tilsit, forced on Prussia and Russia, their range was only between 57½ and 64½. When Napoleon was defeated at Leipzig in 1813, and sent to Elba in 1814, consols recovered to 72½, but his return the next year brought them down to 53¾, and even his final defeat at Waterloo did not raise them above 65¾. It was not until 1817, after two years of peace, when partial resumption of specie payments had been undertaken by the Bank of England, that consols recovered to 84½, their highest price since 1792, when the first coalition had been formed against France.

HENRY HAZLITT

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

POETRY AND DRAMA

Greve, C. The Militant God. Kansas City: Burton Publishing Co. $1 net.
The Melody of Earth. Selected by Mrs. Waldo Richards. Houghton Mifflin. $1.50 net.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Carpenter, E. J. The Mayflower Pilgrims. The Abingdon Press. $1.50 net.
Morse, R. C. My Life with Young Men. New York: Association Press. $3.50.
Mouchanow, M. My Empress. Lane. $2.50 net.

SOCIAL SCIENCE

Agger, E. E. Organized Banking. Holt. $3 net.
Frane, A. Use Your Government. Dutton. $2 net.
Gray, H. L. War-Time Control of Industry. Macmillan. $1.75.
Henderson, A. The Aims of Labour. Huebsch. 50 cents.
Poole, E. "The Dark People." Macmillan. $1.50.

MISCELLANEOUS

Prideaux, W. F. A Bibliography of the Works of Robert Louis Stevenson. Revised edition. London: Hollings.
Rose, M. S. Everyday Foods in War-Time. Macmillan. 80 cts.
Selfridge, H. G. The Romance of Commerce. Lane. $3 net.

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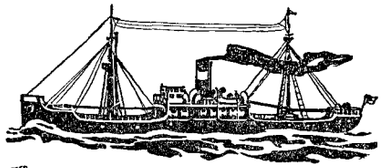

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Summary of the News

THE great offensive on the western front has now lasted more than a month, and interest during the last week has been diverted from the battle of Picardy as a whole to the battle of Flanders in the north. On April 15 the British were forced to yield Bailleul and the Revetsberg Ridge—the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge—after a hard battle. During the next two days the battle raged with incredible intensity, and on April 17 the Germans closed in on Ypres, occupying Poelcapelle and Langemarck as well as part of the Passchendaele Ridge. Since Wednesday, April 17, they have not gained appreciable ground, while on April 20 the British regained their lines at Givenchy and Festubert, and the French repulsed raids near Hangard. On April 17 the British Major-General Frederick Maurice called the situation serious, and, in comparing the battle to Waterloo, said the British were being pounded and were waiting for Blücher to save them. On Friday, April 19, the Blücher of to-day arrived when news came that Foch's army of war-hardened French veterans had gone to the rescue of the British and were joining in the fight against the Germans. A sense of security at once grew along the whole front, and no further enemy attacks on a large scale have developed since. The French regard the battle of Flanders as only part of a general plan of fighting, and claim that great reserve forces of the foe are still on the Arras-Amiens line. It is part of the German tactics to strike a new blow when checked in a particular sector—and Flanders is the new blow after the check at Amiens. This, then, would be merely the ominous pause before a third great blow; and there are indications that the Germans are preparing another attack on the British base of supplies at Amiens. The past week has been the most critical for the Allies since the war began; and it is impossible for the Germans at the present stage to cease in their avowed effort to push on this offensive.

THE American sector was the object of a German attack on Saturday and Sunday, when the enemy attempted to drive a wedge between the French and American forces in vain. At the village of Seicheprey 1,200 storm troops were resisted and flung back by American troops in a battle that lasted through Saturday night. The Germans claim 183 American prisoners and twenty-five machine guns.

IRISH conscription and Irish Home Rule continue to be twin centres of disturbance. Lloyd George, in his speech to Parliament, advocated the former "as a war measure" to bring about contentment in Ireland and rally the Unionists to an unwelcome agreement, while he also made clear his purpose "to produce good will in America" by the measure. Apparently, the Premier's use of effective strategy with the Unionists was successful, for Sir Edward Carson, leader of the hitherto unreconcilable Ulsterites, declared his readiness to support even a Government of Sinn Feiners in this emergency. But a grave and menacing situation has been created by the determination of all parties in Ireland to resist conscription. The Irish Nationalist Members of Parliament have left for Dublin to organize measures of resistance to conscription;

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the Sinn Fein clubs and all classes of the population are participating in the agitation, and the Roman Catholic hierarchy has decided to throw in its lot with them by advocating passive resistance. Anti-conscription meetings have been held in hundreds of parishes, while in Belfast an anti-conscription meeting of 15,000 persons culminated in riots in which revolvers and paving-stones were used against the police that tried to stop it. On Sunday the hostility to the Conscription bill reached a solemn climax, when from every Catholic pulpit the covenant to resist conscription by every possible means was administered and sworn to, the people reciting the pledge, sentence by sentence, after the priests. John Dillon, chairman of the Nationalist party, has received a cable from the Archbishop of Sydney in behalf of the Australian hierarchy protesting against the British Government's attempt to conscript Ireland. According to the London *Daily Chronicle*, the military authorities have now taken over control of the principal Irish railways, the post offices, and telephone exchanges. On Saturday the police removed all arms and ammunition from gunsmith shops in Dublin, and similar action is to be taken throughout Ireland. Young men at various colleges in different parts of the country are being sent home, and shop assistants are returning to the country, in view of the possible operation of conscription. The *Daily News* has advised the Government to "drop altogether the attempt to pursue this Irish adventure."

BARON BURIAN has succeeded Count Czernin as Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, retaining his portfolio as Minister of Finance as well. He is considered more friendly to America than other statesmen of the Dual Monarchy, and has shown a conciliatory attitude in earlier diplomatic difficulties with this country. Count Czernin, whose fall was due to the recent disclosures made by Clemenceau concerning Emperor Charles's letter to Prince Sixtus, was assured of the Emperor's continued favor. Czernin's resignation has resulted in a change in the Hungarian Cabinet, in which there was also a division on franchise reform.

THE landing of British and Japanese marines at Vladivostok has led to increased anti-Japanese demonstrations, and the situation is regarded as serious at Tokio, although it is not believed that international complications will result. The Bolshevist Government has given an order to ship the shells and machinery at that port to European Russia. The activities in Manchuria of Gen. Semenoff, anti-Bolshevist leader, are being denounced as part of the Japanese plan to invade Siberia with the help of China and the Entente's connivance. Latest reports from Moscow assert that Gen. Korniloff's forces were heavily defeated and Semenoff's raids weakened, while there are even rumors that both generals have been killed.

RUSSIA continues to be an enigma in the military and political news that comes through to America. She is about to resume permanent diplomatic relations with Germany, and Count von Mirbach has departed as Ambassador to Russia from Berlin to Moscow, while Rodolph Joffe, a Bolshevist Socialist, has started for Berlin as Russian Ambassador. From Kiev in the Ukraine a dispatch comes stating that the Ukrainians have sent to Moscow a formal acceptance of the peace negotiations proposed by the Russian National Commissioners, the negotiations to take place in Kursk. In Finland the Germans have landed 40,000 troops at Helsingfors, and a German squadron of twelve ships, including the Posen and Westfalen of 18,600 tons each, has anchored in the harbor. All important units of the Russian Baltic fleet escaped, and most of the Russian naval craft have withdrawn, probably to Kronstadt or Viborg.

SUBMARINE losses to British shipping during the week ending April 17 were greater than during the previous week. Of the fifteen ships sunk, eleven were over 1,600 tons and four under. One fishing vessel, also, was sunk. The French during the week ending April 13 lost one ship, and the Italians during the week ending April 17 lost one steamship of more than 1,500 tons and two sailing vessels. Among the losses reported are two American steamships, the Florence H., a vessel of about 3,000 tons, sunk on April 7 with a loss of forty-one lives in a French port, and the Lake Moor, sailing on her maiden voyage with a naval crew aboard, sunk on April 11 with a loss of forty-four lives.

PARIS has had a week of unusual excitement. The great German long-range gun has continued to fire shells into the city at intervals, and in the bombardment of April 17 thirteen were killed and forty-five wounded. Bolo Pasha was executed at Vincennes on the same day, in spite of his "revelations," in which he accused the former Prime Minister of France, Caillaux, and Senator Humbert.

THE Dutch Government's announcement that it must consider partial demobilization as soon as the offensive on the western front is over is a clear indication of Holland's serious financial condition. Her aid to the Belgians and interned prisoners of war has increased her own war expenditures, which have amounted to more than 1,000,000,000 florins thus far.

THE Third Liberty Loan, at the end of the first half of the present "drive," had reached $1,371,055,300—less than half of the required subscription of $3,000,000,000, and the subscribers amounted to not more than 4,000,000 persons. Telling results are expected from the observance of Liberty Day, proclaimed for Friday, April 26, by President Wilson, in order to stimulate subscriptions. At present the returns from the large cities are disappointing, while there has been a striking gain from States whose population is largely rural. The agricultural States of the Middle West and Far West have exceeded their quotas. The response of New York, the financial centre of the country, has been disappointing.

AN earthquake shock in southern California, western Arizona, and Utah on April 21 did heavy damage in Hemet and San Jacinto, two inland towns, and caused minor property damage in Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and many smaller cities and towns. It is just twelve years since the destructive earthquake of April 18, 1906, when the resulting fire almost wiped out San Francisco, but when southern California barely felt the shock.

The Diplomacy of the Future

will differ greatly from past diplomacy both in its objectives and its methods. A democratic world will not tolerate treaties between nations which are in effect bargains for the aggrandizement of a single nation or group of nations rather than agreements for the furthering of those interests which are shared by the people of all countries.

Any permanent peace must be based on an understanding of this and on a recognition of the change that is taking place in the minds of men everywhere in regard to the sovereignty of the state. Old conceptions of this are being questioned: new conceptions are being evolved. Theories of sovereignty are not abstractions unrelated to life. They are the basis of impulses through which men act politically, and the future of thousands of lives and of the state itself rests upon the character of these theories.

When a labor union submits to the authority of a labor leader in action which is directly opposed to the interests of the state, it has acknowledged a sovereignty in conflict with the sovereignty of the state. One of our problems is to reconcile these two conflicting loyalties. This is an obvious example.

Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty, by Harold J. Laski, of the Department of History, Harvard University, shows us the range of such conflicts in the past, and puts us in touch with a theory of the state which has among its adherents some of the most brilliant of the younger men in Great Britain to-day. Whether or not you agree with this theory, you will, if you read this book, know better than you do to-day what you do believe, and will realize more keenly the part you wish to play in the new democracy.

Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty (Second Printing), by Harold J. Laski. $2.50 net.

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